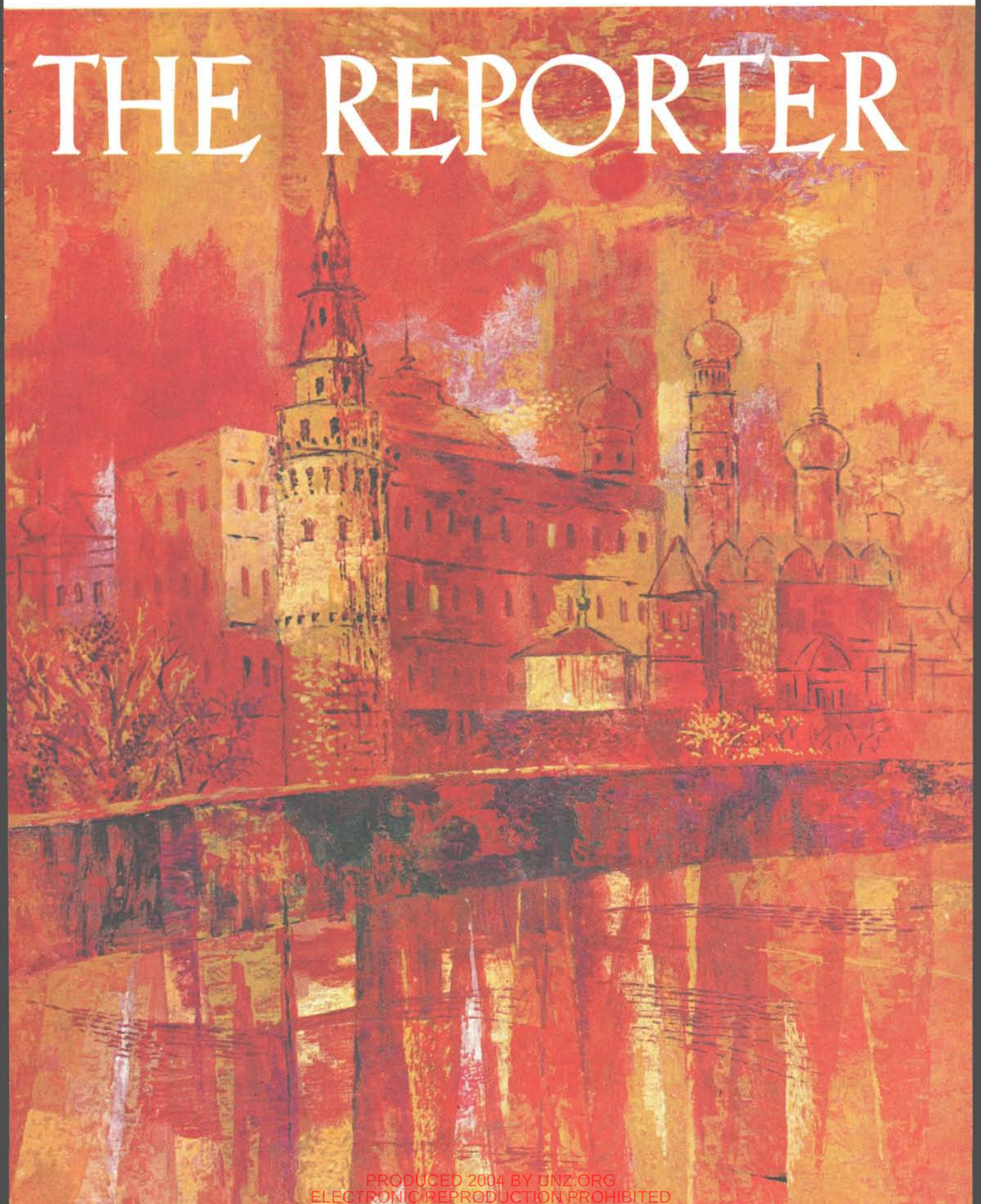
A PRIMER ON FALLOUT

July 9, 1959 25¢

The Soviet Economic Commonwealth

THE REPORTER



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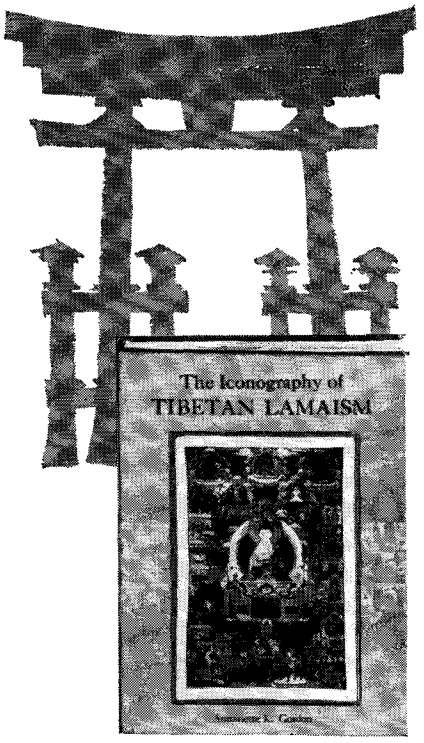

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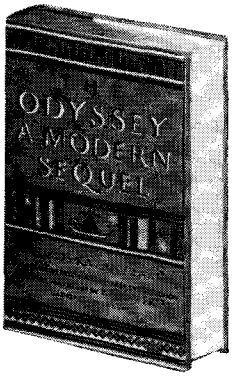

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Here It Comes Again!

Last year when spooky jokes were enjoying a particular vogue with the younger set, one of the more enigmatic ones began with the jokester's drawing back one hand and moving it toward his victim's face, fingers awiggle to suggest some sort of creeping monster. "What's that?" you were supposed to ask, at which the eight-year-old, repeating the gesture, would menace "I don't know, but *here it comes again!*" For some reason all this came to mind when we learned that HR 3, Representative Howard Smith's anti-court bill, had for the second time crept out of the House Judiciary Committee (17-15), wriggled through the House itself (225-192), and was once again slithering toward the Senate.

No one is quite sure what HR 3 is either, except that it is aimed at the doctrine of the pre-emption of state law by Federal law and that its adherents are largely inspired by a desire to avenge the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the case of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania vs. Steve Nelson. In the Nelson case the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the ruling of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania that the 1940 Smith Act had superseded state statutes against sedition and that Nelson, a Communist, could not be prosecuted for sedition against the United States under Pennsylvania law. HR 3, however, does not limit itself to restoring the validity of forty-two state anti-sedition laws that were knocked out in the Nelson case (and partially revived by the more recent Uphaus decision). It gives the states jurisdiction in *all* fields where Congress has legislated unless Congress has added explicit provisions to the contrary, or unless there is an irreconcilable conflict between state and Federal statutes. What's more, HR 3, as it stands, is retroactive in effect.

The President of the United States, who is known to feel deeply about states' rights, last year authorized Representative (now Senator) Kenneth B. Keating to express his position on the bill, which was, as far as could be made out, that he thought HR 3's objectives were good but didn't approve of its methods. The Justice Department, this year and last, more strongly urged the defeat of the bill which it termed "hazardous." HR 3 has been opposed by thirty-five law professors, the AFL-CIO, the N.A.A.C.P., the American Civil Liberties Union, and even Representative Francis Walter, who called it "the most dangerous bill that has been reported out of the Committee on the Judiciary," prefacing his remarks with the apt observation that "Nobody could accuse me of attempting to prevent action from being taken because of improper decisions made by the Supreme Court."

Just what is so hazardous about HR 3? Despite the fact that no one can predict exactly its ultimate effect on the courts of the land, it is certain that passage of the bill could throw into unimaginable confusion statutes already on the books concerning railroads, busses, trucks, airplanes, oil and gas pipelines, immigration, naturalization, agriculture, labor relations, pure food and drugs, health, sanitation, and—but perhaps you had already guessed it—civil rights and desegregation. It would provoke endless relitigation of cases long settled and it would create possibilities of infinite new litigation for Southerners attempting to delay the progress of integration. Under HR 3 it becomes possible, for example, for individual states to pass laws identical to Federal laws and leave their interpretation to the judgment of state courts.

According to the New York *Times*, HR 3 has a better chance of passing the Senate this year than last. The chance does not have to be much better. It was defeated in the Senate last August by a single vote.

'A Bulwark Built on Sand'

The House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Monetary Affairs has just issued its report on "U.S. Aid Operations in Laos"—a subject that we had taken up in some detail when we published Haynes Miller's article "A Bulwark Built on Sand" in our November 13, 1958 issue. The subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Porter Hardy, Jr. (Dem., Virginia), listed twenty-two specific cases of bribery, fraud, conflict of

FREE MAN

Self-dispossessed, possessed, the divided man,
Released, returns to his divided kind,
Believing what? That he, Klaus Fuchs, still can
Divorce his reason from what his eyes now find?
Serve singly one whole master, turn his mind
Wholly away from memory of the West
And close it far more densely than the blind
To what he sees: his dream put to the test?
In his division, will he call slaves free?
A triggered army messengers of peace?
This puppet people a society
Of pioneers? Can he call this release?
Or will his home be just another cell
In which two men called Fuchs—two strangers—dwell?

—SEC

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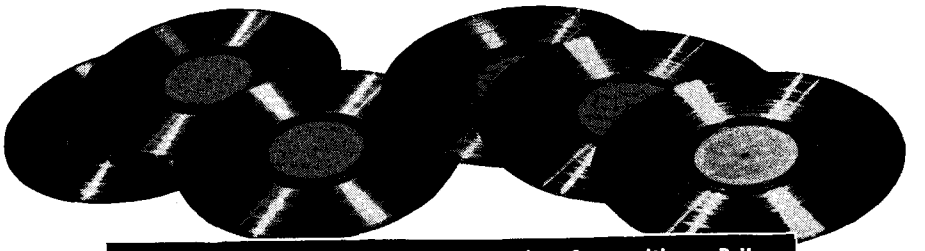

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interest, and deficiency on the part of International Co-operation Administration officials and those under contract to them, including many we had originally disclosed.

On the same day the subcommittee's report was released, the ICA was ready with a forty-five-page rebuttal, the effect of which is even more discouraging. While acknowledging "deficiencies and shortcomings in the administration of the program in Laos," the ICA maintains that its major objective, helping Laos to resist Communism, had been and is being achieved "with signal success," a claim that is both questionable and irrelevant to the subcommittee's disclosures of maladministration and malfeasance. To be sure, the ICA rebuttal also offers, point by point, its answers to the charges:

Item: To the charge that excessive cash grants, which flooded Laos with money and goods it could not possibly absorb, had caused inflation and profiteering, the ICA replies (in part), "The striking thing in this connection, however, is not that there has been inflation, but that it was so modest." The striking thing, of course, was the profiteering, and as Haynes Miller pointed out, it was this very profiteering that took money out of circulation—and in many cases out of the country.

Item: The subcommittee charged that the concentration of benefits of the aid program around the capital city, Vientiane, and the enrichment of, and speculation by, Laotian merchants and public officials tended to lend credence to Communist charges of corruption. The ICA replies: "Many of the ordinary people . . . were not aware of the importance to them personally of having an adequate supply of the very consumer goods . . . which they were buying . . ." It is hard to see how the ordinary Laotian, who lives in a tribal village and supplies most of his needs by barter, could be expected to appreciate the value of such examples of western ingenuity as the dozens of Cadillacs and Buicks stalled on his jungle trails or the four and a half tons of feather dusters imported back in 1957.

Item: The subcommittee noted that the ICA's public-works officer in Laos, Edward T. McNamara, had accepted bribes totaling at least $13,000 from the Universal Construction Company, an organization which, in spite of its woefully inadequate performance, had a virtual monopoly of U.S. aid construction projects in Laos. When Mr. McNamara publicly made these admissions to the subcommittee in March, he also announced that he had signed "certificates of performance" for Universal contracts worth $600,000 without checking whether the work had been performed. The ICA, at that time, and despite these admissions, claimed that "no evidence has yet been produced that McNamara performed services injurious to the Government in return for the money and favors received." Now, perhaps thinking it over, the ICA states that it "has been very deeply concerned by these admissions" adding that "It is perhaps worth noting that the former employee here involved was not employed by ICA prior to his assignment in Laos and that he resigned from ICA at the conclusion of this assignment two years later." It might also be worth noting what he did while he was with the ICA.

Item: How does the ICA regard its first Director of the aid mission in Laos, Carter dePaul? The subcommittee found that "The first evaluation group that ICA/Washington sent into Laos made a report of which the main thrust was that the Director should be replaced, but this did not occur for fourteen months, and then only by transfer tantamount to promotion." The ICA replies that Mr. dePaul "faced exceptionally difficult tasks as well as personal hardships with fortitude and skill."

The State Department, appropriately, joined the ICA in issuing its rebuttal. It was the State Department, after all, that was responsible for the questionable policy decision in 1954 to support a large Laotian army and equip it with utterly unsuitable weapons and means of transportation. The ICA was simply handed the job of immediately providing for all of its needs and all of its salaries. It had to generate the necessary currency by importing a vast amount of goods into a primitive country and by relying on excessive cash grants. The situation was ripe for trouble, just made to order for the mindless opponents of foreign aid.

These Things Were Said

¶ F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover said today crime costs every American $128 a year. He called for a rededication to "love, fair play and fellowship" to cut the expense.—*The New York Herald Tribune.*

¶ [A California Senate Committee] complained that a new series of textbooks, "Music for Living," adopted by the State Department of Education last year, is "inferior in patriotic content" to the former books. The word "freedom" was said to appear 31 times and "liberty" 15 times in the old series compared to 11 and 7 times for the new books.—*AP report.*

¶ SATEVEPOST is going to give away an Arizona ghost town to some lucky ad or sales exec. To win, contestants will have to complete the last lines of a jingle which the magazine will supply to those interested. The town, known until recently as Stanton, has been rechristened Ulcer Gulch, after a recent POST promotion. It has a bloody history dating back to 1861. It will be deeded to the winner and named for him. The last person it was named for was shot and killed in 1886.—*Magazine Industry Newsletter.*

¶ A visitor to Leningrad . . . sees eager-eyed youngsters sitting on park benches. Boys and girls are holding hands as they would anywhere. But their heads are buried in texts of advanced algebra, nuclear physics or biochemistry. — *Harrison E. Salisbury in the New York Times.*

¶ Because of various deductions, the great majority of police officers are vague as to just what their gross pay is. But not Capt. Croughan (pronounced CROH-gan): "A captain now gets $8,600 and goes to $9,100 on July 1. Not bad for a guy born in this country."—*Report in the New York Herald Tribune.*

¶ In 1946, fashion expert Tobé reported the appearance of the Bikini bathing suit on the Riviera, but admits she didn't dream it would be worn in America. "The Bikini is positively indecent," she says indignantly. ". . . But the Bikini is selling despite the efforts of good stores to discourage it." (Saks Fifth Avenue refuses to display the Bikini in its windows in deference to St. Patrick's Cathedral across the street.)—*Article in The Saturday Evening Post.*

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CORRESPONDENCE

MISSING MUSICIANS

To the Editors: Nat Hentoff was quite correct in indicating that the New York Philharmonic was among the orchestras which denied racial bias ("The Case of the Missing Musicians," *The Reporter*, May 28). At the time that we received a copy of Mr. Pugh's report, which not only seemed to us superficial but which contained various factual errors, we pointed out to the Urban League that the Society does not countenance discrimination of any kind based on race, creed, or color.

May we point out, too, that for nineteen years the Society has been privileged to have on its stage such distinguished Negro professional musicians as Adele Addison, William Warfield, Leontyne Price, Marian Anderson, Dorothy Maynor, and many others.

As an example of the kind of misinformation which Mr. Pugh seems willing to publicize, may we direct your attention to the final paragraph in Mr. Hentoff's article in which Mr. Pugh is quoted as saying, "Ever see a Negro usher at Carnegie Hall?" This seems to imply pointedly that no Negro ushers have been employed at Carnegie Hall. In actuality Carnegie Hall has some thirty Negro employees, several of whom are regular ushers, and the assistant manager of Carnegie Hall, Mr. Charles Starling, is himself a Negro.

Bruno Zirato, Managing Director
George E. Judd, Jr., Associate
Carlos Mossley, Press Director
New York Philharmonic Society

To the Editors: In September, 1957, the Cleveland Orchestra hired its first Negro musician, Donald White, cellist. He was chosen through audition and solely on the basis of merit. We were under no pressure from any group whatsoever. I can only report that he has done a good job and that there have been no problems at home or on tour because of his presence.

A. Beverly Barksdale, Manager
The Cleveland Orchestra

To the Editors: As consultant to the Little Orchestra Society, I have recently come into contact with the problem posed by Nat Hentoff in his thoughtful and provocative article.

About six months ago I discussed this problem at a meeting with Mrs. Sophia Jacobs and Mr. Edward Lewis, president and executive director respectively of the Urban League of Greater New York. At that meeting Mrs. Jacobs and Mr. Lewis agreed with me that the problem of the Negro musician is not a problem that can be solved by the individual conductor or contractor of an orchestra. It is interwoven with the entire subject of racial relationships in our social and industrial structures. It also ties in with the Negro musician's own reluctance to submit to an audition on the assumption that he will be rejected in spite of his qualifications.

I promised Mrs. Jacobs and Mr. Lewis that I would personally request our contractor to seek out qualified Negroes and bring them to the next audition that may be held by Mr. Scherman. Upon the orchestra's return from its tour of the Orient, an audition was held and as a result, a Negro viola player participated in our Handel Festival concert in Central Park on May 20. Mr. Scherman tells me that this viola player, as well as a violinist, who had played with the Little Orchestra in previous seasons, will be engaged as permanent members of the Orchestra for next season.

Joe Wilder's statement in your article that the Negro musician has little chance to get orchestral experience is indeed very much to the point. On the other hand, the same thing applies to the white musician; only in a smaller degree. I discussed this problem with conductors and orchestra contractors, and the consensus was that the Negro musician, to a large extent, gravitates toward jazz and popular music ensembles and does not lay stress on classical music.

I cannot refrain from commenting on Douglas Pugh's wistful observation "Ever see a Negro usher at Carnegie Hall or Town Hall or the Met?" In my forty years as a concert manager I do not recall ever seeing one, but I have seen Negroes in other capacities in these halls. On the other hand, how many Negroes does one see in an audience at a concert or opera performance in these halls? Only a few, unless the performer on the stage happens to be a Negro. Is this perhaps a reflection of the Negro's attitude to classical music, both as performer and auditor?

Marks Levine
New York

To the Editors: "The Strange Case of the Missing Musicians" is an interesting piece but it fails to mention the fact that the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra was the first major symphony orchestra to engage a Negro musician. He is a valued member of the bass section.

John Orlando Northcutt
Director of Publicity
Southern California Symphony Association

To the Editors: I think [the article] is well presented and brings the story into focus. It has always been our policy to engage musicians regardless of color. Our criterion has been ability.

Louis Shoobe
Manager Orchestra Personnel
CBS Television

To the Editors: The interpretation of this issue given by *The Reporter* magazine, as well as by other media, has helped us immeasurably in securing the co-operation of the music industry.

Edward S. Lewis
Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New York

CLASSES IN CONTEXT

To the Editors: Charles Curran in his article "The Old Order Cometh" (*The Reporter*, May 28) makes the mistake of seeing a social phase as an historical conclusion. Has any group, recently enfranchised (in the widest sense of that term), assumed responsibility at the same time as power? It is instructive in this regard to look at the position of the industrial middle class fifty or one hundred years ago. Were not men like Matthew Arnold and Henry Adams complaining about much the same in relation to them both socially and culturally? And wasn't one of the great cries of the American Progressives that monopoly was replacing free contractual society with rigidity?

Articles such as this are perplexing and a bit frightening largely because they are taken out of historical context and take no account of new forces which will inevitably alter the balance of class politics in Britain, which is in fact very precarious at the moment.

Nicholas C. Edsall
London

MAKING ROOM FOR SPACE

To the Editors: May I take exception to the article by Professor S. Fred Singer on "The Use and Uselessness of Outer Space" in your issue of June 11?

The point of Dr. Singer's article seems to be that there is no certainty as to the exact military utility of space. But he goes on to suggest that since there is no certainty, our efforts to determine such utility are of little avail. This assumption does a disservice to both the country and to the scientific community of which Dr Singer is a most respected member.

Dr. Singer refers to "a lot of well-meaning people" who "have been proclaiming that our national survival depends on beating the Russians to the moon" and suggests that this is loose talk. Yet in the latter part of his article he calls for a concerted effort to prepare the American people for successful Russian attempts at manned orbital flight, and further suggests that we should put even more into our own manned satellite program. . . .

Certainly we all wish that space will be used to peaceful ends, but we must realize that wishing will not make it so. The key has to be a concerted effort to use the capability we have, so that the world will know that we too are willing to recognize the importance of tomorrow.

William Leavitt
Associate Editor
Air Force Space Digest
Washington, D.C.

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

WE HAVE ALL LEARNED in our elementary history books how the Greek city-states fell, one by one, before Philip of Macedon and his infantry. Why on earth couldn't these city-states unite against an enemy they all recognized, and of whose intentions they had full warning? There must have been good reasons, or what at the time seemed good reasons. But today they are hardly to be discerned. It is devoutly to be hoped that future historians of Europe will not be teased by the same perplexity. Europe *is* being united—though slowly and incompletely. As **Max Ascoli** points out in his editorial, the present state of military technology, which makes a major war unthinkable, and of international tension, which makes the idea of a comfortable peace utopian, is pressing toward a genuine supranational organization of West. But though history sets the stage, men must do the acting. And the *political* initiative for transforming the Atlantic Alliance into something more than a joint military effort is not nearly as powerful or determined as circumstances demand. The initiative, we have no doubt, must come from Washington.

The problem, of course, is one that the Soviets in their own way are experiencing, for they too lead a coalition —of a kind. **Isaac Deutscher,** who writes frequently in our pages on Russia and East European affairs, analyzes what they have done to harmonize their economic development with that of the satellites. **Don Cook,** of the *Herald Tribune* bureau in London, reports on the special position—and dilemma—of Britain, the nation which did so much to save Western Europe in the 1940's but which now finds itself in a dangerous isolation that is anything but splendid.

THE STATE of our scientific knowledge changes quickly; it is a pity that efforts to sum it up must be bewilderingly hurried. This is particularly the case with such a subject as the dangers of fallout from nuclear tests, a matter on which the public has been treated alternately with bromides and hysterical suggestion. The Holifield subcommittee hearings on this problem lasted only from May 5 to 8. The press tried desperately to cope with the deluge of scientific information those days produced, but inevitably with little success. Now the subcommittee has moved on to the subject of fallout dangers from nuclear war; there is the same deluge of controversial data, the same confusion as to what it all adds up to. **Walter Schneir,** working from a transcript of the Holifield subcommittee hearings (it will be at least a couple of weeks before they are available in print), checking with scientific authorities to clear up the foggy issues, and interviewing scientists on the implications of their testimony, has tried to sum up in a sober and lucid manner just what we know about the dangers of test fallout. It turns out that we know quite a lot—though not, alas, as much as we shall know a few years from now.

Mr. Schneir, who is an editor of a national medical magazine, has long been a student of this grim subject.

Joseph Kraft is a free-lance writer, formerly with the New York *Times,* before that with the Washington *Post.* . . . **William H. Hessler** is on the staff of the Cincinnati *Enquirer.* . . . **Alice Baker,** who has just returned from an Asian tour, is a former associate editor of the *Democratic Digest.* . . . **Seymour M. Lipset** is Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Berkeley. He has recently published, in collaboration with Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (University of California Press). Next January, Doubleday will bring out his *Political Man: Essays on the Sociology of Democracy.* . . . In addition to her regular TV reviewing for *The Reporter,* **Marya Mannes** now has a regular Sunday-evening program, "I Speak for Myself," on WNEW, Channel 5 in New York. . . . **Fred Grunfeld** is a record critic for several New York radio stations, a consultant to record companies, an independent producer of classical LPs, and a composer of *musique concrète.* . . . **Jay Jacobs** is our regular movie reviewer. . . . **Daniel P. Moynihan,** who wrote "Epidemic on the Highways" (April 30) and "A Second Look at the School Panic" (June 11), is director of the New York State Government Research Project at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs in Syracuse. . . . **Malcolm Bradbury** is a young Englishman who has been set loose in this country. He is a regular contributor to *Punch.* . . . **Gerald Weales** is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania, author of a novel for children, at present working on one for adults. . . . **Bruno Foa** is an economist specializing in international trade and development. . . . **Henry Popkin** teaches drama at Brandeis University.

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES 2

Our Alliance and Theirs

THE TWO NEW FACES OF JANUS—AN EDITORIAL . . . . . *Max Ascoli* 8
THE SOVIET ECONOMIC COMMONWEALTH . . . . . *Isaac Deutscher* 9
BRITAIN AND EUROPE AT SIXES AND SEVENS . . . . . *Don Cook* 13

A Special Report

A PRIMER ON FALLOUT . . . . . *Walter Schneir* 17

At Home & Abroad

THE ONE THAT BROKE THE CAMEL'S BACK . . . . . *Joseph Kraft* 25
THE REFUGEES FROM CIVIC PROGRESS . . . . . *William H. Hessler* 27
THE VIEW FROM HONG KONG . . . . . *Alice Baker* 29

Views & Reviews

VANCE PACKARD DISCOVERS AMERICA . . . . . *Seymour M. Lipset* 31
Channels: TIME FOR A STORY . . . . . *Marya Mannes* 34
Music: 101 BRASS CANNON . . . . . *Fred Grunfeld* 35
Movies: STRAWBERRIES AND LEMONS . . . . . *Jay Jacobs* 37

Books:
OFFICERS AND GENTLEMEN . . . . . *Daniel P. Moynihan* 39
A VERY EXCLUSIVE CLUB . . . . . *Malcolm Bradbury* 40
RICE KRISPIES AT NOON . . . . . *Gerald Weales* 42
THE USES OF FRUSTRATION . . . . . *Bruno Foa* 43
IT'S BIG ON BLEECKER STREET . . . . . *Henry Popkin* 46
BOOK NOTES 48

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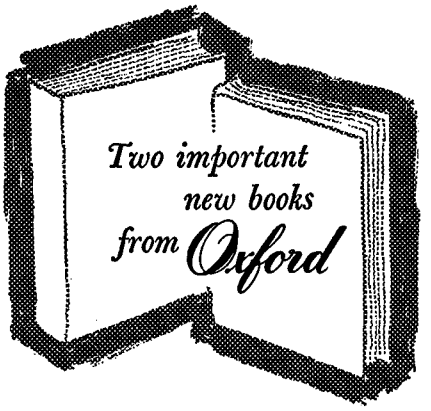

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The Two New Faces of Janus

We'd better be prepared: after a short intermission, the foreign ministers' conference will resume its barren course, and then there will be more intermissions, and more East-West conferences at any number of levels, high and low. At best, these conferences will generate East-West committees on an ever-growing number of subjects, such as control and inspection of armaments, German reunification, settlement of disputes in various areas of the world, and the like. The main purpose of these committees will be to generate more discussions and more committees and more conferences.

This exasperating merry-go-round of negotiation, this frustrating search and substitute for peace, comes from the fact that war has become impossible. The two major powers are lavishing their technological and economic resources in order not to be caught short in the armament race, and thereby are doing their best to push the prospect of war farther and farther into the realm of the impossible. At the same time, there is scarcely an area of friction between East and West where a beginning of armed hostility would not quickly lead to total war. Such a war would bring about the uncontrollable destruction of the warring and unwarring nations alike. The abstention from unthinkable belligerency is reflected in a condition of peace for which our experience in peacemaking is of little if any use.

Peace has always been considered as nothing more than the absence of war. But there is an enormous difference between *absence* and *impossibility*. Moreover, this impossibility of war will remain with us as long as the two major nations continue to produce weapons that make war ever more impossible.

At Geneva, our delegation, under the sober, firm leadership of Secretary Herter, did well. In his report to the nation, the Secretary made it unmistakably clear that we are not going to abandon the people of West Berlin, and that we care for their independence as much as we care for our own. His calm, unruffled demeanor shows that he has the patience and the strength to endure what is ahead of him: conferences with the Russians, and then more conferences.

Neither we nor the Russians can break away from this ordeal; neither we nor the Russians can have many illusions as to what can be achieved. It is conceivable that some progress may be made in the field of reduction of armaments; but as to political conflicts, such as the expansion of a nation's zone of influence or the unification of a divided one, it is most unlikely that anything substantial can be reached by either side. The traditional goals of war cannot possibly be attained when there is no war.

Our relationship with the Communist bloc is already developing according to a pattern quite different from our old ideas of peace. In some areas that relationship is marked by an armistice line; elsewhere it is characterized by increasingly active cultural interchanges. It is conceivable that in the near future we may co-operate with the Russians in the enforcement of agreements for the reduction of armaments, and grant each other rights of reciprocal inspection, while never abandoning our ever-vigilant hostility to Communism or our efforts to eliminate it in some foreign countries.

There is a sticky quality in this unprecedented kind of peace. Radical changes in the balance of power cannot possibly be brought about, and the more the opportunity for changes diminishes, the closer we and the Russians are locked together. This comparative stillness, this slowing down of the flow of history, may make for the hardening of habits, for the establishment of precedents that cannot easily be abandoned. Our relations with Russia may come to be ruled by a sort of common law, based on common enmity. For enmity has been deprived of its traditional outlet.

In one field there is room not only for changes but for inventiveness and creation. It is the building of the inter-Allied commonwealth, or rather of a network of interlocking commonwealths, all centered around the United States. In the relationships with the Allied nations or with those that are neutral and for whose independence we care—it is here that peace can acquire an entirely new connotation, as different from the peace we have with the Russians as it is from the one mankind has precariously known since the beginning of history. Within the Alliance, the absence of war can lead to the establishment of a supranational order, to institutions limiting and protecting the independence of nations. The very fact that the Russians are determined to break up the Alliance by every possible means should be enough to keep the Allied leaders on the right track.

There are two kinds of peace in this world. Both are unprecedented, both lend themselves to the establishment of customs and institutions. The peoples under Communism, too, have their own commonwealth—so we are told. But theirs is not founded on peace, and by no stretch of the imagination can it be called a new kind of peace. Some time, the peoples under Communism will know it.

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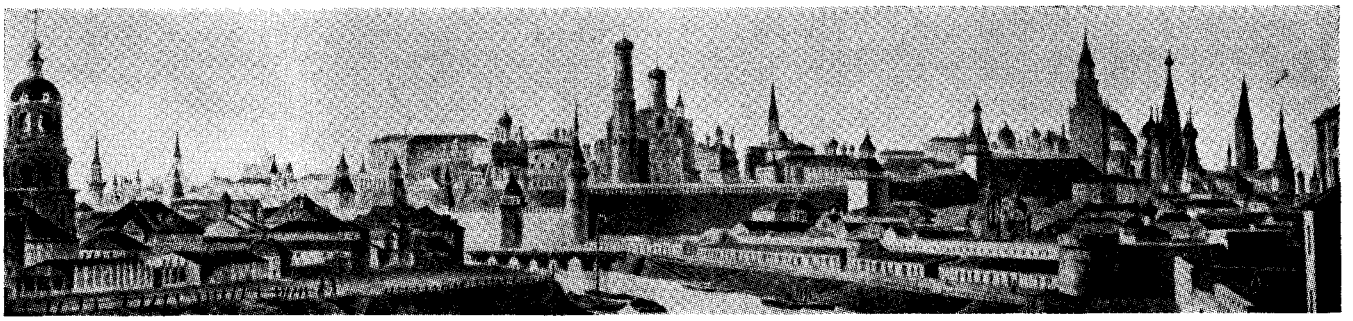

The Soviet Economic Commonwealth

Stalin's answer to the Marshall Plan—and how it grew

ISAAC DEUTSCHER

THE SOVIET news agency Tass has announced that in May the so-called Council of Economic Mutual Assistance (C.E.M.A.) held its eleventh session in Tirana, Albania, and took a number of decisions concerning "co-ordination and specialization" of economic activity in the countries of the Soviet bloc. The announcement, both dry-as-dust and full of propagandist overtones, could not arouse much interest in the non-Communist world, and probably it did not cause any great stir in the Communist countries either. Yet the council's activities are undoubtedly of great consequence. It is potentially perhaps the most important international institution functioning within the Soviet bloc.

The council is made up of representatives of the governments of the Soviet Union and all its satellites in Eastern Europe. Delegates of China, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Outer Mongolia also attend the meetings as observers. The council was formed in January, 1949, and its title reflects its origin rather than its present functions. In a sense, Secretary of State Marshall was the council's unwitting begetter, for it was Stalin's reply to the Marshall Plan. Having forbidden the Poles and Czechs to accept Marshall aid, which they were only too eager to obtain, Stalin had to make a gesture to compensate them, at least symbolically. He invited his European satellites to constitute the council as a counterpart to the West European international organizations that were being set up under Marshall's auspices. Heralded by propagandist flourishes, the council held its first three sessions within a few months, but in 1950 it was put into the deep freeze and forgotten for many years.

Too Many Socialisms

Stalin had, of course, no use for any Council of Economic Mutual Assistance: he held no counsel with anyone, least of all with his satellites; and in 1949-1950, when the Soviet Union still labored under the after-effects of war, he was in no position to give assistance to anyone, even if he had wished to. To speed up Soviet recovery, he squeezed his satellites as hard as he could, and for this he had no need of any "mutual aid" institution. As during the two decades of the Soviet Union's pre-war isolation, Russian self-sufficiency and "sacred egoism" were still Stalin's guiding principles. The isolation was now a matter of the past; but Stalin, dominating the new and vast Soviet bloc, behaved like a driver who had changed over from a horse-drawn cab to an automobile and remained convinced that the car would run better and faster if he went on cracking his old whip.

Only a full year after Stalin's death was the council brought back to life and assembled for a session in Moscow in March, 1954. Stalin's successors, aware of the burden of liabilities he had left them in Eastern Europe, were about to disband the various Soviet-Hungarian, Soviet-Romanian, and Soviet-East German mixed companies, and to renounce other economic privileges Stalin had secured; and they were anxious to associate the East European Communists with this disengagement from the Stalinist legacy.

It began to dawn on Moscow's new leaders that the policy of Russian self-sufficiency and sacred egoism not only aroused intense resentment in Eastern Europe but also produced tremendous waste and economic chaos—it was indeed the most inefficient of all conceivable Soviet economic policies. Stalin had killed off all too many geese for whose eggs the Soviet Union might have had some use.

Worse still, his economic policies had been zealously copied by every one of the satellites: each East European government aimed at achieving national self-sufficiency, until Eastern Europe could boast of building simultaneously seven or eight single-country socialisms. Poland, Hungary, Romania, etc., each tried to build up within its own boundaries the basic branches of heavy industry (including heavy engineering), and to duplicate, each on its own scale, the Soviet economic structure. The result was a severe

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over-all crisis of overinvestment in heavy industry and underinvestment in primary production, light industry, and farming.

The Age of Specialization

It was to deal with that crisis that the C.E.M.A. was convened in March, 1954. The crisis was to remain on the council's agenda for the next three or four years. (Not until several years after Stalin's death were the Communist governments of Asia invited to join the council as observers: China in 1956, North Korea in 1957, and North Vietnam and Mongolia only last year.)

Already in 1954 some Soviet officials and economists favored the idea that the council should be used as a sort of a clearing office for the economic planners of all Communist countries and that it should, in due time, be transformed into an international planning authority for all the countries of the Soviet bloc. During the post-Stalinist ferment of ideas, new notions were making their appearance, or, rather, were reemerging from the limbo of condemned heresies. A few economists began to speak, very cautiously at first, of the advantages of "international division of labor"—the idea, though stemming from good old Adam Smith, had had a "Trotskyist" flavor about it and had been anathema in Stalinist Russia.

Nobody knew, however, how to translate the abstract notion into practical terms. Several schemes for the economic overhaul of Eastern Europe were canvassed. One of these, vaguely associated with the "Malenkov line," advised the East European governments to give up their ambition to develop heavy industry and to concentrate instead on light industry and farming, to export consumer goods to the Soviet Union and to rely mainly on the Soviet Union for their imports of producer goods. Another scheme, which came to be regarded as the "Khrushchev line," sought to maintain some priority for heavy industry in Eastern Europe as well as in Russia, but to cope with the crisis of overinvestment by curtailing a number of the heavy industrial projects. This scheme underlay many hasty shifts carried out in the years 1954-1956 and was at the basis of the various East European Five-Year Plans for the years 1956-1960.

However, the immediate effect of the remedies was to aggravate the illness. Halting some of the biggest heavy industrial projects did not succeed in even mitigating the scarcity of food, fuel, and consumer goods in Eastern Europe. The stoppage, freezing enormous resources, only intensified the economic chaos.

In May, 1956, the C.E.M.A. met in East Berlin for a session of crucial importance. It reached the conclusion that the Five-Year Plans adopted in 1954-1955 were unworkable. All these plans (covering the period 1956-1960) were scrapped, as was also their model, the Soviet plan; and the council recommended the broad principles of a new economic policy. Henceforth—this was the gist of its recommendations—the East European governments should avoid investing in parallel lines of industry and stop building extremely costly engineering plants in small countries. Instead, they should seek to complement and integrate their development schemes. The Soviet members of the council came forward with a specific project for "industrial specialization and co-ordination." The project provided for the distribution, or redistribution, of the production centers of no less than six hundred groups of engineering manufactures all over Eastern Europe.

The Russians thus took their first long step toward international planning, a quite unprecedented step. At the same crucial session they also urged the council to expand greatly its machinery and to set up permanent "branch commissions," whose job it should be to co-ordinate in a similar manner the work of the various national industries within the respective branches.

This daring initiative, however, had few if any practical consequences at first. The East Europeans voted for the Soviet recommendations but went home and ignored them. True, they had more urgent business to cope with at the moment—the goods famines and the growing unrest in their own countries. Barely a month after the council's session, the workers of Poznan rose in June, 1956; in October the Poles moved to the brink of armed insurrection and the Hungarians went beyond it. Throughout Eastern Europe the distrust of all things Russian was at its fiercest.

PARADOXICALLY, the nationalists and anti-Communists and the most hide-bound Stalinists found themselves united in opposition to the new economic policy. To the Stalinist, everything coming out of Moscow since Khrushchev's attack on Stalin at the Twentieth Congress—the curtailment of heavy industry, the general liberalization, and the new talk about "international division of labor"—reeked of heresy and treason. To the anti-Communist and the anti-Russian at large, Moscow's new talk of "international division of labor" was utterly suspect: he scented a new Muscovite design to despoil the subject nations.

In this situation, while discipline was on the decline throughout the Communist camp, the C.E.M.A. could do nothing. More than a year passed before it assembled again, this time in Warsaw in June, 1957. A protracted crisis in the Polish coal industry overshadowed the session. In 1956-1957 the extremely low out-

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put of the Polish miners threatened to bring to a standstill Polish, Czech, and East German industries, which are all as much dependent on Silesian coal as West European industry is on the coal of the Ruhr.

The Fifteen-Year Plan

To meet a need of the moment, the council made a further step toward international co-ordination and planning. To avert the recurrent coal shortages, it was decided to re-equip and modernize the Polish mines; and since the Poles could not undertake the job alone, the re-equipment was to be the joint responsibility of Polish, Czech, and East German producers of mining equipment. At this session, too, the Russians came out with a definite proposal that the council should at last begin to tackle long-term planning for the whole of Eastern Europe. The Russians spoke of a "Perspective Plan" covering ten to fifteen years.

This was evidently a critical point in the council's career. Its Russian members pressed for something like a supranational planning authority. The others replied in effect that the council, being merely a consultative body on which sovereign national governments were represented, had no authority to engage in international planning and could not claim supranational prerogatives. A debate of this kind would not have been possible in Stalin's days, but now there was a genuine conflict of views. Implicitly, this was a matter of nation-state versus "international division of labor." The council had to refer the conflict to the chiefs of the Communist parties; and the issue figured prominently on the agenda of the Moscow conference of the Communist leaders in May, 1958.

THEIR DECISION is reflected in the fact that since last summer the C.E.M.A. has entered a new and more exalted phase of its career. It has held three prolonged sessions in the course of eleven months, while previously one session a year was thought to be enough. The machinery of the council has been further expanded, and so has the scale of its activities.

This is not to say that the conference of the party leaders has given any clear-cut answer to the problem posed before it. The party leaders rather tried to reconcile conflicting views. Khrushchev in particular refused to commit himself too strongly, however much his intellectual advisers may have pressed him for a decision. The issue was and is one of the greatest delicacy and complexity. Though the argument for the merger of the whole of Eastern Europe into a single economic entity, and for its "organic" link-up with the Soviet Union, may be attractive to "advanced" circles in Moscow, official policy must take into consideration the national susceptibilities of the East Europeans. It might be too dangerous to press the latter for a virtual surrender of national economic sovereignties so soon after the insults and injuries Stalin inflicted on their patriotic sentiments and after national sovereignty had more or less spontaneously reasserted itself within the Communist framework. In addition, "international division of labor" and the ways and means of achieving it are still novelties; and cautious minds prefer to move warily on untrodden ground.

A survey of the council's work in the last year indicates, nevertheless, that slowly and gradually it *is* developing into something like an international planning authority. Moscow has reaffirmed that the member states of the council have the right to veto any decision taken by it. But the party leaders have also jointly and emphatically instructed the council to conduct its work with an eye to the overriding needs of the "international division of labor" and to carry that division into new fields of the economy. For the first time, Soviet production is being adjusted to the council's East European plans, and China's connection with the council has grown closer. What appears to be coming into existence is not merely a Communist "Common Market" but an organization designed to pool, distribute, and develop jointly the resources of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and eventually of the entire Soviet bloc.

'According to His Ability'

A few examples may illustrate the kind of work the council is engaged in. Under the new arrangements, Czechoslovakia is to concentrate on the output and export of heavy trucks and tractors, while East Germany is to make the lighter type. Both countries are to produce enough sugar refineries to satisfy the needs of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The output of certain high-quality steels and of light-section rolling mills is to be confined mainly to East Germany and Poland, while Russia and Czechoslovakia are to specialize in large-section rolling mills. The Soviet Union and Romania are to be Eastern Europe's chief suppliers of oil-drilling and refining machinery. Certain types of excavators for opencast mining are to be made in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, others in the Soviet Union. Machine tools for ball-bearing plants are to be standardized; the Russians are to produce fifty-five types of tools, the Germans forty, the Poles twelve, and the Czechs ten. To avoid overlapping, all new investment in engineering is henceforth to be cleared through the council's appropriate branch commissions.

Other items show another aspect of the council's activity. The Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia

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are beginning to build an oil pipeline from the Volga region to Central Europe. Germans, Czechs, Poles, and Romanians are to construct a mammoth cellulose plant at Braila, Romania, which should meet Eastern Europe's deficit of this commodity. The development of Hungarian aluminum is to be tackled in the same way. (In every case the industrial plant is the property of the nation on whose territory it is situated, and the foreign contributors to the projects are to be paid in goods.) An all-East European electricity grid is to be connected with the power system of the western regions of the Soviet Union by 1964. Poles and Germans are jointly responsible for the construction of the Oder-Danube Canal. Member states also co-operate in development schemes outside Eastern Europe: Czechs and Germans build power stations in China, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, etc.

All East European plans are to be adjusted to Soviet planning. Yet although most of these run, as the present Soviet plan does, up to 1965, the adjustment could hardly be more than superficial. Otherwise it would probably cause another grave upheaval in Eastern Europe. Only by regulating all future industrial investment will the C.E.M.A. be able to set the stage for a more thorough integration in the next planning period.

Division of labor and specialization, promoted on so vast a scale and in a rapidly expanding economy, presuppose an enormous volume of trade. Yet if one is to judge from the official Soviet trade forecasts, either the directors of Soviet trade have not yet caught up with the C.E.M.A. or they treat its ideas rather skeptically. Here, too, lip service is being paid to the new internationalism; and autarky is out of fashion. The Soviet Union has indeed moved far since the days when its share in total world trade was not more than one per cent—and this in the shrunken trade of the 1930's. But habits of autarky seem to be dying much harder among the Soviet bureaucrat-merchants than among the planners and producers. The entire Soviet bloc's present share in world trade is, according to official Soviet sources, not more than ten per cent. (Three-quarters of this consists of trade within the bloc itself, which is still conducted, as it was in Stalin's times, by means of bilateral agreements and a clearing system.)

As the Soviet bloc claims to be producing about a third of the world's total industrial output, the disproportion between production and trade is striking. The Soviet Union and its partners would have to sell and buy at least three times as much as they do in order to approach relatively, not absolutely, the present level of capitalist trade. By 1965, Moscow expects the Soviet bloc to produce just over half of the world's industrial output. The forecasts about trade, however, are timid: they suggest that, given an unchanged volume of world trade, the share of the Soviet bloc would rise at the most to about twenty per cent, three-quarters of the rise occurring within the Soviet orbit.

An international division of labor as intensive as that prevailing in the West at present would require the trade of the Soviet bloc to increase at least fivefold between now and 1965.

It is, I think, a safe bet that events will compel the directors of Soviet foreign trade to set their sights much higher than they have and to remove some further disproportions, which have been hinted at even by Soviet analysts. Thus, the East Germans already trade four times and the Czechs five times as intensively as the Russians do, if their trade is related to population. Trade between the Soviet Union and China, with its more than six hundred million people, is no larger than that between the Soviet Union and East Germany, a fact that has undoubtedly brought forth some bitter comments from the Chinese.

But to a large extent this state of affairs is normal. It is far easier for an industrial nation to trade with another developed nation than with an underdeveloped one that is not in a position to pay for large-scale imports. Although the Soviet Union has given China considerable industrial aid without payment and has exported much on credit, Chinese poverty has set narrow limits to economic exchange.

The Dragon's Teeth

However, Communist China's rapid industrialization and increased agricultural production are bound to make China's influence increasingly felt within the Communist "Common Market."

China's presence at the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance, even in the role of an observer, has already presented the council with a special problem. The Peking delegates have claimed for their country "exemption from the processes of coordination and specialization" that the council is busy with. On the basis of size and population, China is claiming the right to complete self-sufficiency. Moscow has somewhat overemphatically accepted the claim. For the time being, no one thinks of extending to China the methods of work that are now undergoing trial in Eastern Europe. But some Soviet economists, with the recent instructive experience of their own nation's period of autarky, hardly believe that the Chinese will maintain their claim when they have advanced further on the road of industrialization.

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It will be seen from all this that six years after Stalin's death Moscow has turned into a hotbed of experimental economics. Sets of "maximalists" and "minimalists," internationalists and shamefaced isolationists, are fighting somewhat confused battles, whose significance transcends the boundaries of the Soviet bloc. The "maximalists" preceded the council's Tirana conference in May with a barrage of new demands. They asked for uniform price fixing procedures and methods of accounting throughout the Soviet zone; for stricter and more extensive international standardization of engineering and other manufactures, for the replacement of the present bilateral trade by a multilateral organization embracing all Communist governments, and for more trade and even more aid. The published decisions of the Tirana conference suggest that these demands have not been accepted; but their initiators are certain to press them, even if they offend some East European susceptibilities. No matter how much political obeisance Communists find it wise to pay to the nation-state, economic integration is gaining momentum.

The internationalists, in Moscow and elsewhere, see the whole Soviet bloc, including China, as potentially a single economic entity and a common market, five or six times larger than the North American market and twice as large as would be a common American and West European market. Within such an economic entity, they argue, where even now there are no tariff walls, few protectionist interests, and no fear of commercial competition, standardization and mass production can develop on a scale hitherto unseen and undreamed of.

The "minimalists," the older bureaucrats, the highly "practical" business managers, the trade directors, and some of the political leaders view this sweeping prospect with shoulder shrugging and at times are even alarmed at so much "Utopian scheming." In the ruling group the balance of opinion is uncertain and shifting, but it is not difficult to feel the way the wind is blowing.

Britain and Europe at Sixes and Sevens

DON COOK

London

For a good many decades now, an attitude of detachment and faint distaste has been served up by successive British foreign secretaries, from Castlereagh to Eden, as the basis for Britain's "European policy."

From one generation to the next, it has been argued with logic, candor, and clarity that the correct and indeed the only possible role for Britain in Europe was to reject any kind of entangling partnership and instead—in the words of one famous Foreign Office memorandum by Sir Eyre Crowe in 1907—"throw her weight now in this scale and now in that, but ever on the side opposed to political dictatorship of the strongest single state or group at a given time."

To a remarkable degree it worked—so well, in fact, that it confronts the formulators of British foreign policy today with the fact that any other kind of "European policy" for Britain has become almost impossible politically. The story of British relations with Europe at the decisive moments of the last decade has, therefore, been a frustrating and unhappy record of rejected opportunities, lost opportunities, or opportunities which were finally

acknowledged with too little enthusiasm, too late.

Moreover, since the death of the Free Trade Area plan in December—wherein Britain, though refraining from joining, would have associated itself economically with the six nations of the European Economic Community, or Common Market, which consists of France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Luxembourg—the general British attitude toward the problem has moved from mere distaste to petulance and active disgust. All of this has been unhappily reinforced by the charges of bad faith that the British have had to endure from their other allies since Prime Minister Macmillan's Moscow venture in March.

In this mood, and with very little else to turn to, the British went to the meeting of the "Outer Seven" nations in Stockholm at the beginning of June in search of European friends and the threads of a policy. But the talks that have taken place among the "Outer Seven" (Britain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Austria, Switzerland, and Portugal) on a pilot-model Free Trade Area among themselves can have only limited and marginal economic results; their main advantage is that they keep something hopefully in play for the British

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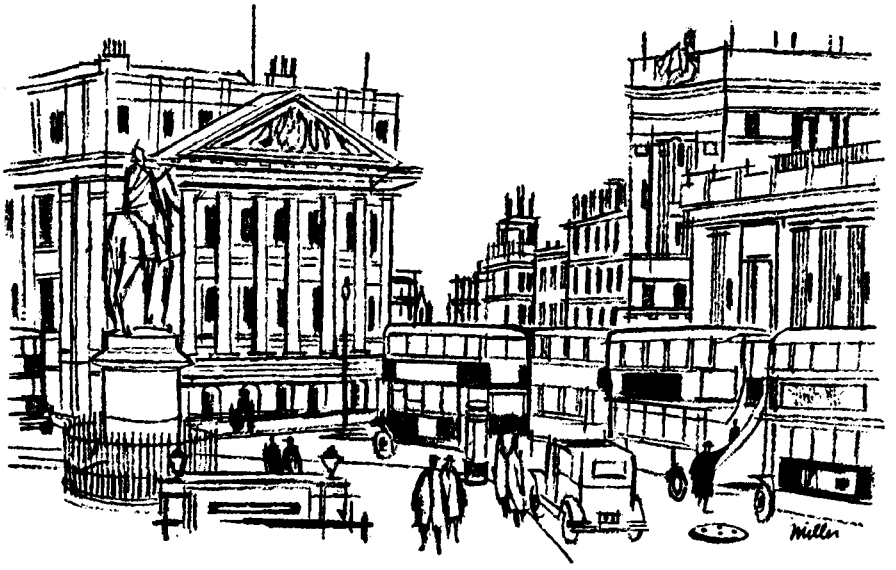
against the European Common Market grouping.

The plain fact is that British policy toward Europe, at this difficult moment for the West, has reached a dead end. Europe is split, with not



even any distant signs of how the breach is to be repaired. Britain is in a position of isolation from its Continental neighbors—economically, politically, and even in defense matters—and it is an isolation with nothing splendid about it.

The Hobgoblins of Consistency

For a nation that prides itself on its astuteness at international policy-making, on its pragmatic ability to face facts, be flexible, and adjust to meet new trends and conditions, this is not a "diplomatic posture" to give much satisfaction. But apart from warnings by handful of key officials and government personalities, none of them of top rank, and by a small if growing body of influential writers and economists, there is so far little evidence that the dangers of this situation are appreciated.

Trade figures in Britain are soaring, the country is on an upswing of economic activity, an election is in the offing, Europe is a remote vacation playground, and it is difficult if not impossible for the British public or its politicians to get very exercised over the loss of friends or trading partners on the Continent. Moreover, it is all too easy for the British to blame the French or somebody else for the split.

Yet there *are* dangers in the situation—grave dangers, not only for Britain itself but for the whole Atlantic Alliance. A split alliance is a weakened alliance, on whatever front it occurs and whoever is to blame. Worst of all, the causes of this split are so enmeshed in problems of politics and national character on both sides that there is little hope or visible possibility of any quick way out.

At the root of the problem of Britain and Europe lies the fact that while Europe has undergone a fundamental change in its internal relations in the last decade, Britain has clung to a traditional pattern of action that no longer successfully applies in the politics or economics of the postwar world.

To PERCEIVE how Britain stands vis-à-vis Europe today, contrast the situation when the war ended. All the elements of a dominant role in Western Europe were in Britain's hands. There was no Germany; France was distraught and chaotic. Britain stood supreme in military power and political prestige. Moreover, under Labour Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin the British in fact got off to a glowing start in a new era of leadership in Europe. Bevin may not have conceived it that way, but he did seize the Marshall Plan offer "with both hands," as he put it later, and he did take the initiative that resulted in the creation of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. And it was Bevin, too, who devised and pushed forward the Western European Union treaty that was the germ of the NATO alliance.

Though these were acts of a limited character in keeping with past British policy toward Continental entanglements, they could have marked the beginnings of a growing and expanding British partnership with Europe. But as European recovery improved and political self-confidence came back, Europe began to forge ahead from these limited co-operative arrangements.

Europeans like Robert Schuman, Jean Monnet, Paul-Henri Spaak, Alcide de Gasperi, and Konrad Adenauer saw a new road opening before them—a casting off of old patterns of European nationalism, a gradual surrender of sovereignty, a growing merger of economic policies, in the end a politically united Europe. One by one, challenges presented themselves to Britain. And at each step of the way, no matter what the particular issues of politics or economics or military matters might have been, the challenge resolved to a simple question. It was: Europe is uniting—will you join?

THE FIRST big challenge came in 1951 with the Schuman Plan to pool Europe's coal and steel industries. Ernest Bevin was still foreign secretary, but he was a British Socialist before he was a European. To the Labour government of that time, deeply engaged in its program of nationalizing the British economy, the Schuman Plan seemed to pose this question: Are we to surrender direction of our basic industry to a European High Authority, with powers to tell a British Socialist government how it is to plan a vital segment of the British economy? The Labour government did not even think twice.

In 1953 and 1954, the same essential challenge of joining Europe again confronted Britain in the form of the European Defense Community treaty. But who would have expected the British General Staff—with its memories of the catastrophic days of May and June of 1940, when the French were pleading and demanding that the few remaining Royal Air Force squadrons be dis-

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patched to the Continent—to merge the British forces, or even part of them, with a European Army?

In June, 1955, Europe challenged again with the convening of the Messina Conference in Italy to begin work on a treaty for a European Common Market. Britain again was invited to join. Sir Anthony Eden, flushed with his May election victory, replied that there was no minister available but he could send a senior official. The European "Six" sent word back that it was a ministerial meeting, and if Britain couldn't find a minister to spare it could stay out.

From the small but deeply significant points of departure, the split between Britain and Europe on the economic front widened steadily, until it culminated in the acrimonious demise of the British Free Trade Area plan in Paris last December.

It Was Good Enough for Crowe

The Free Trade Area plan represented a major effort by the British government to break the old pattern of policy and go well beyond anything previously attempted in "joining Europe." A cabinet minister—Paymaster-General Reginald Maulding—was appointed to direct policy and conduct negotiations. With considerable energy he kept things moving. But it was a new experience for the British to realize that they needed Europe more than Europe needed Britain.

Although it was evident early in the game that the free-trade plan involved a head-on clash of policy with the French, Britain continued to hope right down to the last months of 1958 that pressures from France's partners would produce a compromise between the Common Market and free trade. But in the end, the Continental partners stuck together with France, and "the Six" refused to go further. Their contention was that the Free Trade Area plan was simply a device to get the economic advantages of the Common market without a sacrifice of sovereignty.

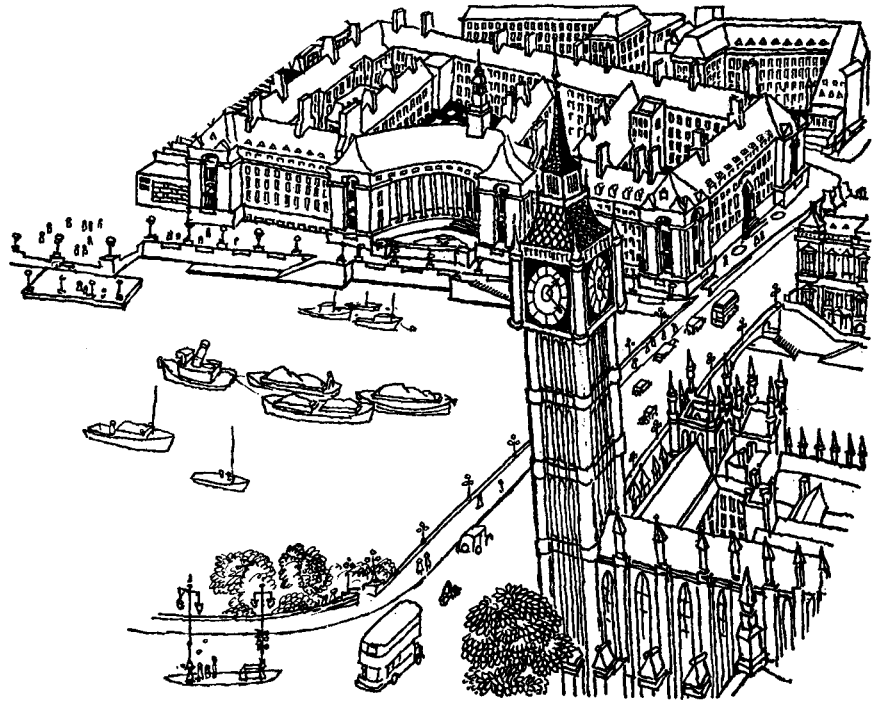
The wrangle left a bitter aftertaste. After the rebuff, the British quietly patched up a temporary tariff and quota deal with France, but the Macmillan cabinet came to the conclusion that it had gone as far as it could in the direction of Europe and that it was time to let the dust settle.

Logical and admirable as the Free Trade Area plan was, and laudable as it could have been as a means of preventing the division of non-Communist Europe into rival economic blocs, it had two fatal flaws. First, it was too much a reflection of British self-interest rather than a wholehearted act of European partnership. Second, it again dodged that simple, central issue of a symbolic surrender of sovereignty.

It was, in fact, almost as if someone in the Foreign Office, searching for an idea or a policy with which to meet the challenge of the European Common Market, had looked up that 1907 memorandum of Sir Eyre Crowe's—in which he also wrote:

Second only to the idea of independence, nations have always cherished the right of free intercourse and trade in the world's markets. In proportion as England champions the principle of the largest measure of general freedom of commerce, she undoubtedly strengthens her hold on the interested friendships of other nations—at least to the extent of making them feel less apprehensive of naval supremacy in the hands of a free-trade England than they would in the face of a predominant protectionist power. This is an aspect of the free trade question which is apt to be overlooked.

If it was good enough for Sir Eyre Crowe in 1907, it was certainly good enough for the Conservative government in 1958. But it was not good enough for Europe.



THIS IS the diplomatic road that has led to Stockholm. At every step of the way, the British position has been historically consistent and logical, and politically explainable. It has certainly been predictable. It may even have been "inevitable." But the fact remains that Europe has been in movement during this decade, and the British have failed to keep up with it. To be outdistanced in a race is to lose—and it is no good when the race is over saying that it was all the fault of the other fellow for running too fast.

Since December, the British government has studied various suggestions for renewed action, but it has reached the dismal conclusion that nothing really is possible except the Stockholm initiative.

Reginald Maulding told an audience at The Hague in early June:

There can be no question of the United Kingdom applying to join the European Economic Community.

In the first place, the Community could not be extended to include the

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United Kingdom without a fundamental revision of the treaty, and I see no general desire among the member countries for such a revision.

It has been suggested that there should be a negotiation between the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth on the one hand and the Community. But it does not on examination present any practical solution. The Commonwealth countries can only negotiate satisfactorily as a group if they have a common interest, and insofar as there is one it does not make for agreement between the Commonwealth and the Community—rather to the contrary.

And so we have therefore rejected these two suggestions. We are pursuing the possibility of a Free Trade Area among seven European countries. It is our belief that the establishment of some closer grouping among these countries may make it easier in the long run to achieve a satisfactory solution embracing all members of the O.E.E.C.

On the Sidelines

Such is the state of Britain's policy in Europe today. About the most positive thing that can be added is that the first round of the Stockholm talks has gone fairly well, and the "Outer Seven" are in general agreement on objectives and policy (though a large "agricultural exception" will have to be written into the agreement to cover Denmark's trade with Britain). Yet the British and the "Outer Seven" have had to accept the calculated risk that events of the coming months, and even of the next few years, will lead to a widening of the economic split in Europe and a worsening of political relations rather than to any basic improvement.

It is, in fact, accepted in London that one of Chancellor Adenauer's basic reasons for deciding to remain in his present office, instead of moving up to the presidency, is a suspicion and fear of Britain and a determination that nobody in West Germany is going to tamper with the Franco-German entente while he is alive. Had Ludwig Erhard succeeded to the chancellorship, there was some expectation that West Germany might have moved in the direction of a free-trade policy. Adenauer is taking no chances on that happening.

Britain thus seems doomed by its decisions of the past ten years to spend a long period on the edge of Europe searching for opportunities and a policy. Unfortunately, Britain is more inclined to rationalize the position than face the import of the challenge.

Britain does not cease to be vulnerable to changes in Europe—up or down—simply by staying out. Moreover, the whole economic character of the Commonwealth has altered since the Ottawa preferential tariff agreements of 1933, and before another decade is out these agreements will be all but meaningless economically. Unless a slow decline to a "Little England" status is to be avoided, the British must be part of some wider and more expanding economic arrangement than they will ever achieve by clinging to the Commonwealth or relying on the Stockholm plans to do the job.

Britain's position as a world power is not based on sheer military strength, but rather on its capacity to lead and influence and direct. In the Bevin days of the Marshall Plan and the formation of the OEEC, Britain spoke for Europe and played the key role as a guiding force in European economic and political affairs. But in the circumstances its policy has helped bring about, Britain cannot aspire to regain its position of ten or twelve years ago in Europe.

Of course Britain remains an independent "nuclear power" in possession of its own nuclear deterrent,

and as such is in a special category within the Atlantic Alliance. It also relies above all on the special quality of the Anglo-American partnership, and is giving a vivid demonstration of this right now by putting out the welcome mat for General Norstad's nuclear fighter-bombers which General de Gaulle is fussing about in France. But even the special character of these British assets is subject to almost momentary revision if and when France explodes its own nuclear bomb and claims new status as a result.

Beyond that there is the wider aspect of the effect of this split between Britain and Europe—this division of the Atlantic Community into the "Six" and the "Seven"—on western relations with the Soviet Union. It took only three months for the economic split of Europe, after the Free Trade Area plan collapsed in December, to widen into political bickering the likes of which the Atlantic Alliance had not heard in ten years. When Mr. Macmillan went to Moscow in March, there followed weeks of charges and countercharges and recriminations and misunderstandings back and forth across the Channel. These were only plastered over, not repaired, by the diplomatic common front in Geneva.

No one ought even to question Britain's determination to be firm as well as flexible with the Soviets, but in its present isolated position, such suspicions and disagreements are bound to arise.

FROM THE OUTSIDE, there seems to be one simple answer to all this. Barbara Ward, former assistant editor of the *Economist*, is one of those who have proposed it:

The positive solution is to take the political and economic steps which enable Britain to influence European policies, and these, clearly, are now inconceivable outside the Common Market. By joining, the British restore themselves to the core of the great economic debate of our time. Britain cannot evade the issue by retiring from the arena in which it will be chiefly decided.

But the times are out of joint, and there is at this moment no spirit in Britain to set them right.

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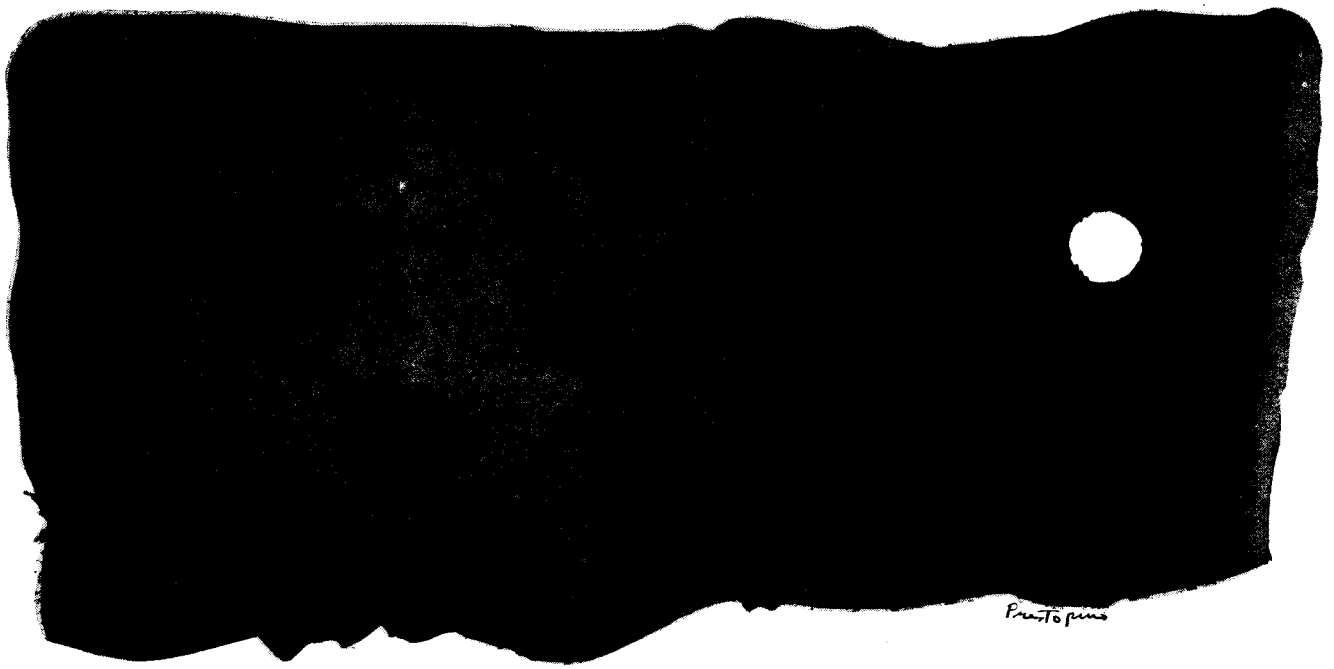
A SPECIAL REPORT



A Primer on Fallout

WALTER SCHNEIR

THE NATION'S PRESS gave surprisingly meager coverage to the second Congressional fallout hearings that were held in Washington from May 5 to May 8. The New York *Times*, for example, devoted only three inside-page stories to the testimony that was given before Representative Chet Holifield's Special Subcommittee on Radiation of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy; a fourth story headlined STUDY MINIMIZES FALL-OUT DANGER (carried on page 1 and exceeding in length the other three combined) gave details of a reassuring report that was released during the hearings by the Atomic Energy Commission's General Advisory Committee.

The coverage in most other papers was even poorer than that in the *Times*. One noteworthy exception, the New York *Daily News*, carried a concise two-part roundup of the hearings several days after they ended instead of attempting to cover them as "spot news." But in general the press has all but ignored the most complete summary of the fallout situation currently available.

Pre-Hearing Chronology

The sparse press coverage was particularly unfortunate in that it came after several months of rising public concern and confusion, generated by these events:

February 27: Dr. Willard F. Libby of the Atomic Energy Commission told the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy: "The strontium-90 content of wheat is a matter of real concern to us. . . . occasionally samples are found which exceed the levels which are generally acceptable for a steady diet. Actually, of course, the general average food level is the important matter and we can say that this level is well below the maximum permissible level as given by the National Committee on Radiation Protection."

March: *Consumer Reports* magazine conducted its own tests of the strontium-90 in milk in forty-eight American and two Canadian cities. The AEC has been testing milk with some degree of thoroughness in only four American cities, the Public Health Service in ten. The magazine reported widely varying levels of strontium-90 in milk, ranging from 1.9 to 15.6 strontium units (S.U.). (A strontium unit is equal to one micromicrocurie of strontium-90 per gram of calcium.) The article recommended an expanded milk-sampling program and transfer of the biologic research activities of the AEC to the Public Health Service. It concluded: "We can surmise that we still are not heavily dosed, but we also can be sure that there have been unattributed individual tragedies caused to persons by fallout."

March 13: Dr. Libby (in a speech

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delivered for him in Seattle) stated once again that radioactive debris takes five to ten years to fall out of the stratosphere. He thus maintained his position on the stratospheric residence time of fallout in the face of growing opposition from other scientists, some of whom had been insisting for several years that fallout was coming down much faster than Dr. Libby had predicted.

March 21: Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D., New Mexico), chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, forced release of two previously classified letters written by Dr. Libby and Major General Herbert B. Loper of the Defense Department. In his letter of February 19, 1959, to Senator Anderson, General Loper noted that the Defense Department had learned two new facts about fallout: that it is descending from the stratosphere in an average of three years (much faster than the five- to ten-year figure the AEC had been using), and that it is not being deposited uniformly throughout the world (as the AEC had also contended), but is coming down most heavily in a latitude band that includes large parts of the United States.

In his reply to General Loper on February 27, Dr. Libby conceded that the rate of fallout was faster than he had previously indicated. He promised to use a new figure for fallout time in his Seattle speech on March 13. But the figure used by Dr. Libby in that speech was the old one: five to ten years.

Senator Anderson criticized both the Defense Department and the AEC for trying to keep these letters secret. He noted further: "This new data [in General Loper's letter] appears to further contradict the official doctrine of AEC spokesmen as to residence time of fallout in the atmosphere and the theory that stratospheric fallout tends to drip out uniformly throughout the earth. The AEC letter of February 27, 1959 [written by Libby], ought to be checked for consistency with the speech of the same AEC spokesman on March 13, 1959, in Seattle.

"The Joint Committee will look into these matters when it holds its fallout hearings in May of this year under the chairmanship of Congressman Chet Holifield . . ."

March 23: Senators Anderson and Humphrey accused the AEC of withholding and "playing down" information on fallout.

March 24: John A. McCone, AEC chairman, denied that there had been any attempt on the part of the

AEC to suppress or modify fallout information. He announced that the AEC's General Advisory Committee, a scientific group appointed by the President, would hold a two-day meeting to review the entire subject.

March 25: President Eisenhower announced that the National Academy of Sciences would update its three-year-old study of radiation hazards. He commented: "To my knowledge, there has been no suppression of information . . ."

March 26: The Surgeon General's National Advisory Committee on Radiation, headed by Dr. Russell H. Morgan of Johns Hopkins, recommended immediate transfer of all research and control programs relating to health from the AEC to the PHS. Dr. Morgan said that it was administratively unwise to vest authority for determining the effects of radiation on human health in the AEC, whose primary mission is the development of new uses of atomic energy. He also questioned as misleading the use of the term "maximum permissible concentration" to signify a "safe" level of radiation, adding, "there is no such thing as a safe level of radiation."

April 1: Dr. John T. Gentry reported in the *American Journal of Public Health* that the incidence of malformed births is highest in those areas of New York State with the highest levels of natural background radiation from rocks and drinking water. Dr. Gentry's study was regarded by many scientists as an important pioneer effort aimed at more precise knowledge of the harmful genetic effects to human beings of small doses of radiation received over a long period.

April 10: Legislation to centralize all U.S. radiation and fallout protection programs under the PHS was introduced in Congress by Senator Lister Hill and Representative Kenneth A. Roberts.

April 20: The White House made public a letter sent on April 13 by President Eisenhower to Premier Khrushchev, appealing for a limited agreement to ban nuclear-weapons tests on the earth's surface and in the atmosphere to an altitude of fifty kilometers (approximately thirty-one miles). The President noted that "our negotiators could continue to explore with new hope the political and technical problems involved in extending the agreement . . . to cover all nuclear weapons testing. Meanwhile, fears of unrestricted resumption of nuclear weapons testing with attendant additions to levels of radioactivity would be allayed . . ."

April 20: The *Nation* magazine published details from an unpublished AEC-sponsored study by three scientists at Lamont Geological Laboratory, showing that the average level of strontium-90 in the bones of American children from birth to four years doubled during 1957 (from 0.67 S.U. to 1.38 S.U.) with highest concentrations found in bones of one- and two-year-olds.

April 22: The National Committee on Radiation Protection and Measurements released a summary of data from a then unpublished booklet containing the latest recommended Maximum Permissible Concentrations (MPC) of various radioactive substances for industrial workers in atomic plants. The industrial MPC for strontium-90 was raised from 1,000 S.U. to 2,000 S.U., causing many to jump to the erroneous conclusion that the MPC for the general population had also been doubled.

May 5: On the day the fallout hearings opened, AEC Chairman McCone told the National Press

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Club that the findings of the AEC's General Advisory Committee would be released soon and would "give further reassurance to the people of the world about the very small hazard resulting from fallout."

Areas of Agreement

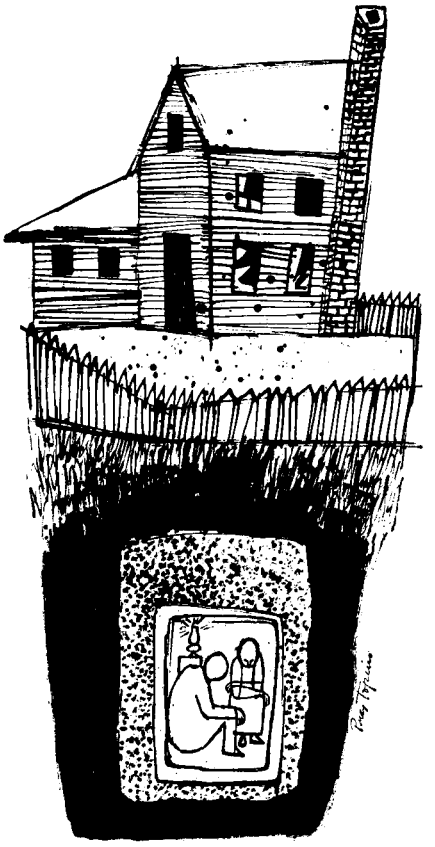
After so many statements and counterstatements, perhaps the most astonishing fact about the fallout hearings was the almost unbroken calm of the proceedings. Some observers ascribed this to the conciliatory attitude displayed by Holifield and most other members of the committee toward the AEC and its representatives. Contrary to expectations, scarcely a word of criticism was heard of any of the AEC's programs or policies.

Another important reason for the absence of controversy at the hearings was the consensus among most of the scientific witnesses on the principal facts of fallout. They all agreed that **fallout is descending three or four times faster than had been predicted by Dr. Libby and the AEC,** and that it is coming down most heavily in a broad latitude band that includes the northern United States and large parts of Europe, the Orient, and probably the Soviet Union. Radioactive debris from Soviet tests held in the Arctic appears to be falling out fastest of all. We are now harvesting the fruits of last year's tremendous testing programs by the nuclear powers: the spring-summer rains in many parts of the world (including the United States) contain the heaviest burden of strontium-90 and other radioactive fallout products since atomic and hydrogen bomb tests began. Inasmuch as all radioactive atoms burn up or decay at a steady rate, fallout that comes out of the stratosphere rapidly is relatively "hot"; i.e., it still retains most of its energy.

Other areas of agreement were:

¶ Everywhere on earth today the soil contains measurable quantities of strontium-90 and cesium-137 from nuclear tests. As fallout from past tests continues to come down, **the average amount of strontium-90 and cesium-137 now on the ground will be doubled by 1962-1965.** Actually, the use of averages can be misleading. For example, the average amount of fallout per square mile predicted for the entire United States by 1962-1965 has already been reached and surpassed in many "hot spot" areas in the North Central States and Hawaii.

¶ As the amount of strontium-90 in the soil increases, the levels of this radioactive element will also rise steadily in all foods and in human and animal bone. A few years from now, the diet of most of the world's population will contain far more strontium-90 than it does today. By 1967 or earlier, the average amount of strontium-90 concentrated in the bones of infants and young children fed on this diet will have multiplied nearly sixfold over the bone levels detected in December, 1957. Furthermore, in the United States a good many children in the North Central area will have bone concentrations of strontium-90



three and four times the average. In the Orient, where the diet of millions is largely vegetarian, bone concentrations will be significantly higher than in the West and some youngsters will probably have from 50 to 100 S.U.

¶ From tests conducted to date, a small percentage of the world's total population will have bone concentrations of strontium-90 exceeding the so-called maximum permissible concentration. If tests are continued at the same pace as those of last year, the number of people having a strontium-90 concentration exceeding the MPC will rise steadily each year; in about twenty years everyone in the world would exceed the MPC and many people would exceed it by a great deal.

What Should A Man Believe?

The much-debated subject of how long fallout stays up in the stratosphere did not provoke any arguments among scientists at the hearings, because everyone, including Dr. Libby, was willing to agree that it is coming down much faster than had been expected. (No one asked Dr. Libby about the discrepancies between his letter to General Loper and his Seattle speech.) Senator Anderson, who was occupied with the Strauss hearings and so was not present for most of the fallout hearings, provided one of the few sharp exchanges when, on the second day, he bridled at the explanation by Merril Eisenbud of the AEC that faster fallout means ultimately *less* strontium-90 in the bones of human beings.

SENATOR ANDERSON: *Mr. Eisenbud, we had some testimony at one time about how good it was that it stayed up there, and it came down gradually. Now we get testimony about how good it is that it comes down fast and does not stay up very long. What should a man believe, in your opinion?*

MR. EISENBUD: *You mean with respect to this particular question?*

SENATOR ANDERSON: *Yes. One time it is good because it stays up for ten years. That is wonderful. The next time it is good because it comes down in two years, that is wonderful. Which would you believe if it were your place?*

MR. EISENBUD: *I have been asked to summarize what the panel submitted yesterday.*

SENATOR ANDERSON: *I asked you what you thought, Mr. Eisenbud.*

MR. EISENBUD: *I think it has been*

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clear from the very beginning that the stratospheric residence-time is short in relation to the radiological half-life [twenty-eight years] of strontium-90. This means that for purposes of computation one can neglect the residence-time and simply assume that it is all going to come down. Everything that goes up has to come down.

SENATOR ANDERSON: *Now you are on a physics law that I can understand. What goes up must come down. Does that apply also to these claims about how it does no damage . . . ?*

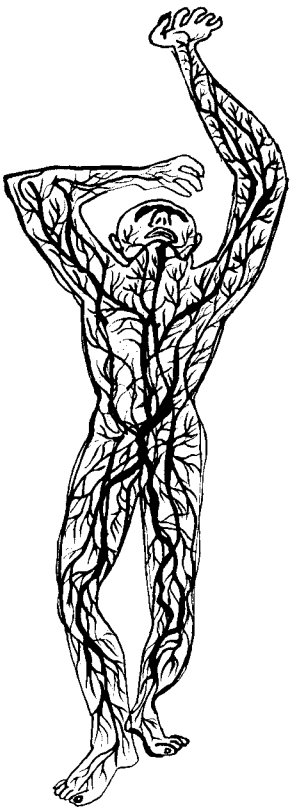
How Many Will Die?

No one knows the exact number of casualties that the increasing level of fallout will cause, but everyone agrees that **there will be casualties. Genetic casualties are the most certain.** Any radiation that strikes the germinal cells in the male testes and the female ovaries induces irreversible changes or mutations in the genes. These mutations are almost all harmful and increase the incidence of embryonic deaths, stillbirths, and various physical abnormalities and diseases. Dr. James Crow, a geneticist from the University of Wisconsin, summarized the hazard thus:

With present levels of fallout the amount of genetic damage from this source is such as to cause an extremely minute fraction of the total human death, disease, and misery. The effect is almost certain not to be detectable by any foreseeable measurement.

Yet the number of persons exposed to fallout is as large as the world population, and, therefore, it is likely that tens or hundreds of thousands or more persons will be diseased, or deformed, or die prematurely, or be otherwise impaired if the present rates continue.

Dr. Crow's statement may be compared with one released to newspapers by the AEC and the Department of Defense on April 27, 1956: "Samples of airborne dust will be taken at approximately seventy various localities throughout the world, in addition to the U.S. stations. Previous studies of this kind have shown that the average gamma ray dosage delivered to world inhabitants by all tests to date is less than the dose they have received from natural background radiation during the same period of time. All of these dosages are believed by radiologists and radiobiologists to be harmless."



Cesium-137, Carbon-14

The principal agents of genetic damage in fallout are various radioactive atoms that emit powerful gamma rays, capable of penetrating the entire body. The longest-lived of these are carbon-14, which decays for nearly six thousand years before it has "burned up" one half its energy, and cesium-137 (half-life: twenty-seven years). In addition, we now know that a host of shorter-lived fallout products, whose effective energy is largely lost in a matter of days, or at most months, comes down in copious amounts in fresh fallout.

These shorter-lived radioactive atoms have been largely ignored in AEC calculations, but combined they may produce twenty or more times as much genetically harmful gamma radiation as do cesium-137 and carbon-14, according to a report from Argonne National Laboratory. If nuclear tests are not resumed, all of the shorter-lived fallout products from past tests will soon decay to relative harmlessness; but if tests start again and continue over a long period, the shorter-lived fallout products will be a very serious genetic hazard.

At present, though, the fallout product that will certainly cause the greatest number of casualties, with estimates ranging from many hundreds of thousands to millions, is long-lived carbon-14. Incredible as it may seem, these casualties will be spread over a period of eight thousand years or more. The fallout hearings revealed that since nuclear tests began, the amount of carbon-14 in all living matter has increased between ten and twenty per cent.

The only mitigating testimony on the genetic casualties caused by fallout was offered by Dr. W. L. Russell of Oak Ridge National Laboratory, who compared the effects on mice of long-continued low-level radiation with that from a single large dose of radiation.

Here are Dr. Russell's conclusions:

The genetic hazard from radiation delivered slowly over a relatively long period of time may be considerably less than had been expected. This statement presumably applies to: (a) background radiation, (b) fallout, and (c) many industrial uses of radiation.

It should not be forgotten that although lower mutation frequencies are obtained when the radiation is spread out, these frequencies are still appreciable.

What About Cancer?

As for somatic injury to the individual himself, as opposed to injury to his genetic material, scientists still face many uncertainties. They have plenty of evidence that **radiation in fairly large doses can cause cancer, including bone cancer and leukemia.** Among the irradiated survivors of Hiroshima, for example, the incidence of leukemia has increased several times. What is not known, however, is whether *very small* doses of radiation, applied to a *very large* group of people, in this instance the entire population of the world, will induce cancer in a certain small percentage

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of them. In other words, is there a threshold below which radiation will not cause any bodily harm or is all radiation harmful to some susceptible people?

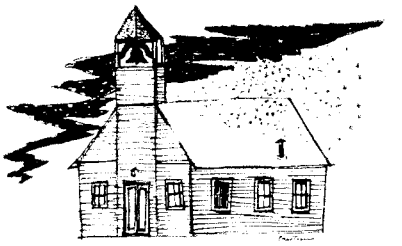
This question has been especially troublesome in attempts to assess the danger from strontium-90, the fallout product that concentrates in human bone. For example, Dr. Charles L. Dunham of the AEC predicted during the hearings that if there is no threshold for injury, strontium-90 from tests to date will produce 50 to 100 additional cases of bone cancer each year in the United States and about double that number of leukemia cases. Naturally, if there is a threshold, there could be fewer cases or none.

This AEC prediction of possible cancer casualties is inconsistent with the attitude toward strontium-90 displayed in the AEC press release of April 27, 1956, which stated: ". . . nowhere in the world are there concentrations of this isotope [strontium-90] remotely approaching hazardous amounts. The average concentration observed in human bone is less than 1/10,000 of the concentration which might be expected to show ill effect on human beings."

The American public has been confused these past few years by the plethora of differing estimates of casualties from strontium-90 and other fallout products. Sometimes these differing estimates result from different assumptions made by scientists in making their calculations. More often, the wide differences derive from variations in the way the same relative degree of hazard is expressed. For example, Dr. Dunham says that there could be 300 cases of leukemia and bone cancer in this country annually from fallout. Another scientist might use the same figures to say, with equal accuracy, that during the next thirty years there might be 9,000 cancer cases in the United States from strontium-90 or that the total number of cancer cases throughout the world in the next thirty years from strontium-90 may be 144,000.

The Unborn Victims

The effects of fallout on the young came in for special attention at the hearings. One scientist particularly



A FALLOUT LEXICON

HALF-LIFE: The amount of time that it takes for a particular group of atoms to disintegrate to half their original number. Some radioactive substances disintegrate in a matter of minutes, others decay for many years. At the end of its half-life, a radioactive substance is still not harmless; it has simply lost half its energy.

NATURAL BACKGROUND RADIATION: The small amount of radiation that man has always been exposed to from the soil, rocks, air, and water of his natural surroundings.

THRESHOLD: The smallest amount of radiation that will do damage to human beings. There is no threshold for genetic injury; even the smallest amount of radiation that strikes the gonads will cause some mutations. No one knows whether there is a threshold for bodily injury, i.e., whether there is a dose of radiation so small that it will not cause cancer in some susceptible people.

MAXIMUM PERMISSIBLE CONCENTRATION (MPC): An amount of radiation that is believed to be relatively, but not necessarily completely, safe—according to present knowledge. Radiation levels thought safe thirty years ago are now known to be extremely hazardous and MPCs have been revised drastically downward.

INDUSTRIAL MPC: The MPC set for the small group of adult workers in atomic energy plants: the industrial MPC for strontium-90 is currently set at 2,000 strontium units per gram of calcium.

GENERAL-POPULATION MPC: The MPC for the total population of the world, with its high percentage of children, pregnant women, and other groups especially sensitive to radiation injury. The general-population MPC for strontium-90 in bone is currently 66 strontium units per gram of calcium.

HOT SPOT: An area where the amount of fallout on the ground is particularly high, as compared with other areas. Also used to describe a part of the bone where some radioactive element, such as strontium-90, has concentrated.

KILOTON: A force equal in explosive power to 1,000 tons of TNT. The Hiroshima bomb was about 15-20 kilotons.

MEGATON: A force equal to a million tons of TNT. A two-megaton hydrogen bomb is equal in power to all the conventional bombs exploded during the Second World War.

CURIE: The unit of radioactivity. One gram of radium has the activity of one curie. (Less than one-millionth of this amount of radium can cause bone cancer or leukemia.)

MILLICURIE: One-thousandth of a curie. The amount of strontium-90 and cesium-137 desposited on the soil as fallout is often expressed as so many millicuries per square mile.

MICROCURIE: A millionth of a curie. Smaller still is a micromicrocurie, or a millionth of a millionth of a curie.

STRONTIUM UNIT (S.U.): One micromicrocurie of strontium-90 per gram of calcium. Used to represent the amount of strontium-90 in food and also in human and animal bone.

ROENTGEN: A unit of radiation dose. Each year we are ordinarily exposed to a natural background dose of radiation of about 0.1 roentgen.

STRONTIUM-90: One of the most important of dozens of radioactive elements present in fallout; did not exist before the nuclear age. Half-life is twenty-eight years. Closely similar chemically to calcium, with which it is taken up from the soil by plants. Concentrates in bone, where it may cause cancer or leukemia.

CESIUM-137: A fallout product that is a genetic hazard because it emits penetrating gamma rays. Half-life is twenty-seven years. The human gonads receive radiation from cesium-137 deposited on the ground and also from cesium-137 taken into the body, where it remains for many months.

CARBON-14: A very long-lived (half-life 5,568 years) fallout product produced by both fission and fusion. Concentrates in all tissue. A genetic hazard that will cause a small number of mutations each year for thousands of years.

IODINE-131: Half-life is eight days. This product concentrates in the thyroid, especially in children, where it may cause cancer.

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interested in the subject was Dr. Jack Schubert of Argonne National Laboratory in Lemont, Illinois. Here is part of his testimony:

It is possible to make an estimate, and I want to emphasize it is an estimate, of the cancer-producing effects of fallout on children. This is based on the studies of Dr. Steward and Mr. Heyett . . . in England. In these studies, roughly two roentgens total body-dose in the fetus in the last three months of pregnancy resulted in a doubling of the amount of cancer that these children got before the age of ten . . . It is interesting that two roentgens should produce a doubling dose, for this reason: Before 1950 it was universally assumed that it took roughly 2,000 roentgens to produce cancer in humans. These data were based mainly on adults. Then in 1950 it was found that as little as 200 roentgens produced cancer in children who were irradiated in the neck region. Now, seven years later, we find that two roentgens have produced cancer in children, admittedly on the fetus, which is the most sensitive age.

Dr. Schubert estimated that at present the child receives during its nine-month gestation period a total dosage of twenty milliroentgens [thousandths of a roentgen] from all fallout products; and that **this could mean an increase of one per cent in the total number of children under ten who die of cancer each year.**

The need to consider the unborn and very young in assessing radiation hazards was also pointed up in testimony on a newly realized danger from fallout: thyroid cancer. Dr. E. B. Lewis of the California Institute of Technology revealed that over the past few years the thyroid glands of infants and young children in the United States have received average annual radiation doses from iodine-131 that are roughly one or two times the annual dose to the thyroid received from natural background radiation. Once again, the average here is misleading and the individual thyroid dose rates probably show wide deviations, with some children having received dosages many times greater than the average.

Dr. Lewis noted that the thyroid glands of infants and children are especially sensitive to radiation-induced cancer. Further, if an adult and an infant ingest the same amount of iodine-131, the thyroid of the infant will receive a radiation dose eighteen times greater than that of the adult, both because of the gland's much smaller size and because the child's thyroid may tend to take up more of the radioactive substance.

Dr. Arthur H. Wolff of the PHS commented on this point as follows:

I think we are generally agreed that strontium-90 as an environmental contaminant certainly deserves the primary attention, because the problem will persist for many years following the cessation of nuclear weapons testing. But I think data collected during the past few years does indicate that some of the shorter-lived isotopes, particularly iodine-131, are not necessarily insignificant. . .

It is particularly important to look in the young age group. . . . Much of the work that has been done in the past has been with adults. . .

The Nevada Tests

A panel of scientists presented their estimate that the genetically significant radiation dose received from fallout by inhabitants of the north temperate zone in the coming thirty-year period would be about fifty milliroentgens. The hearings also disclosed that **many thousands of residents of the area around the Nevada Test Site in Arizona, Utah, and Nevada have already received many times this thirty-year dosage from the Nevada tests alone.**

A document entitled "Fallout from Nuclear Tests at the Nevada Test Site" was released at the hearings, listing the estimated external gamma exposures of the populations in hundreds of communities near the Test Site. No estimate is given, however, of the internal gamma-ray dosages that may have been received by these same individuals from cesium-137 and other gamma-ray emitters ingested with food.

Nevertheless, and although we don't know how accurate these *average* estimated dosages may be, the document makes fascinating reading alongside Paul Jacobs's article "Clouds from Nevada," in *The Reporter* of May 16, 1957. Here are a few of the cumulative gamma-ray dosages estimated in the document and stated not in milliroentgens but in roentgens:

Fallini Ranch, Nevada: 1.98; Nyala, Nevada: 2.06; Hurricane, Utah: 4.35; St. George, Utah: 3.70; Washington, Utah: 3.30; Santa Clara, Utah: 4.27; Butler Ranch, Nevada: 15.0; Lincoln Mine, Nevada, 5.95; Beaver Dam, Arizona: 2.30; Las Vegas, Nevada: 0.21. This last figure, 0.21, may seem low compared with the others listed—but it is more than four times the genetically significant fallout dosage that the panel of scientists predicted the average American will receive in thirty years.

In recent years, some scientists have complained that no bone samples from people who lived in the neighborhood of the Nevada Test Site have ever been analyzed for strontium-90 content. Dr. Dunham revealed at the hearings that the AEC is now supporting a PHS study of strontium-90 bone concentrations in the inhabitants of this area. Dr. Conrad F. Straub of the PHS noted cautiously:

We have received within the last month ten samples which have been analyzed, and preliminary data indicate that we have strontium-90 levels ranging from six-tenths to twelve micromicrocuries of strontium-90

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per gram of calcium, which appears to be higher than those reported in the past by other individuals.

A Soothing Report

On the third day of the hearings the AEC released the report that Chairman McCone had promised in his National Press Club speech would "give further reassurance to the people of the world." This report from the AEC's General Advisory Committee provoked Senator Anderson to comment:

I am just hoping that it could be possible for the General Advisory Committee to be told very politely that this was a fine résumé of conditions as of two years ago, and that it might be still the same as now, but that we are interested in what might be going on ten years from now, and it is not against the law for them to take a look at that.

One point widely quoted in the press from the GAC report is that ". . . the amount of total body external radiation resulting from fallout to date, together with future fallout in any part of the world from previous weapon tests, is . . . less than five per cent as much as the average exposure to cosmic rays and other background radiation . . ."

But most of the people who live in the vicinity of the Nevada Test Site have received far more total whole-body external radiation than five per cent of the natural background dose. Some, including all the inhabitants of St. George, Utah, have received more than one hundred per cent of this dose.

Furthermore, very few studies have been made to determine with any scientific accuracy what the external radiation dose rate from fallout actually is. One of the few is being conducted at Argonne National Laboratory, and a report presented at the hearings showed that between May, 1957, and September, 1958, the average external gamma-ray dose rate in this area *was almost twenty per cent* of that received from natural background radiation. This spring, a sudden radiation increase was recorded by the laboratory, bringing the external fallout dose rate for April and May to a full *seventy-five per cent* of that received from natural sources. Most of this great increase is from short-lived fallout products, which will cease to be an important source of radiation in about a year—if no further tests are held.

What Is Your MPC?

Several weeks before the fallout hearings, the National Committee on Radiation Protection released summaries of the latest Maximum Permissible Concentrations recommended by them for industrial workers in atomic plants. The N.C.R.P., an unofficial body, suggested an increase in the industrial MPC for strontium-90 from 1,000 S.U. to 2,000. It was not generally known at the time that some months earlier the International Commission on Radiological Protection had recommended that the *general-population* MPC be calculated as one-thirtieth of the industrial MPC, rather than one-tenth as had been the practice heretofore.

Calculating the general-population MPC for strontium-90 according to this new formula would lower the figure from the present 100 S.U. to 66 S.U. According to testimony at the hearings, the N.C.R.P. will soon issue a statement on this question, probably concurring with the lower MPC.

The entire concept of a maximum permissible concentration, and who should set it, came up for some questioning at the hearing. Dr. Dunham made one attempt to define the MPC:

Standards of radiation protection have been commonly described by such terms as maximum permissible dose and maximum permissible concentration. These terms are often misunderstood. A recommended maximum permissible dose is neither an absolutely safe dose nor is it a dangerous dose. It is a dose which in the judgment of the person or group of persons making the recommendation represents the greatest hazard that in their opinion should be permitted under conditions to which the recommendation is applicable. Under different conditions either a lower or a higher permissible dose may be more appropriate.

After the hearings, Dr. Walter Selove of the University of Pennsylvania commented:

I believe that one of the very most important results that should come from these fallout hearings is the realization, on the part of both Congress and the public, that no group of scientists can set a "permissible" level for fallout. . . . I do not think that Congress can ask scientists to tell it what is an acceptable level of fallout. The responsibility lies with the members of Congress themselves.

In other words, there is a human cost for *all* increases in radiation, and the importance of this cost must be based upon a moral and political decision, not a technical one.

High Altitude And Underground

Testimony at the fallout hearings by Dr. Libby and Dr. Selove should clarify, once and for all, the essential facts—and the common misconceptions—about high-altitude nuclear explosions. These facts are simple. A nuclear bomb exploded a few miles above the earth's surface deposits nearly one hundred per cent of its radioactive debris as worldwide fallout. **But at altitudes up to at least 600 miles, the worldwide fallout from a nuclear test would still range between fifty and one hundred per cent of the total debris.**

The great confusion as to whether or not high-altitude tests cause fallout may have originated with President Eisenhower's April 13 letter to Premier Khrushchev, proposing an immediate ban on all nuclear tests except those conducted underground or above fifty kilometers. The President's letter noted that if his proposal were accepted, fears of "additions to levels of radioactivity would be allayed . . ."

As recently as June 8, a New York *Times* story noted: "The limited ban would eliminate the major hazards of radioactive fallout. . ." That just isn't so.

Actually, no one in the AEC has ever said in so many words that high-altitude tests would not cause fallout. What the hearings did reveal is that when Dr. Libby speaks of the

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relative harmlessness of testing nuclear weapons in space, he is not necessarily referring to altitudes of a few hundred miles.

Here is the relevant testimony on the subject:

DR. LIBBY: *A distance perhaps somewhere near halfway to the moon or even farther would be best. We have had no experience with this method so far, so most of it is theory. . . . The only things that even approach it were the Johnston Island shots and the Argus shots, but they are at way lower altitudes. . . . I would hesitate to give you the impression that it is just around the corner or anything like that. . . .*

DR. SELOVE: *Mr. Holifield, recently the United States proposed a cessation of tests below thirty miles altitude. I understand, as Dr. Libby has indicated, that a test carried out at 100,000 miles from the earth will emit radioactive particles, very few of which will be going in the direction of the earth, and therefore we will get a reduced fallout. But by the same token an explosion carried out even a few hundred miles above the surface of the earth . . . would deposit in the very outer regions of the earth's atmosphere half of the total amount of fallout. . . . I have observed in the official statements that have been made by the U. S. Government there has been no direct statement that fallout from shots above thirty miles will be sharply reduced, although I must say it seems to me the statements are phrased in such a way that one easily reads them to mean that. I wonder whether Dr. Libby might enlighten us somewhat . . .*

REPRESENTATIVE HOLIFIELD: *Dr. Libby's statement covers shots far out, half way to the moon. Of course, he does not treat with the areas closer to the earth. Let us assume, for the time being, we are talking in terms of five or six hundred miles from the earth. Is that satisfactory?*

DR. SELOVE: *Yes.*

DR. LIBBY: *I would think that Dr. Selove's statement is completely right . . .*

Interestingly, though much energy has been expended recently in arguing about the efficacy of detection systems for underground tests, some of Dr. Libby's testimony revealed that our knowledge of the possible hazards of such tests is remarkably limited:

It is necessary to emphasize that our experience is limited and we have to learn more about such matters as the characteristics of the rock necessary to completely seal in the radioactive fallout so that it cannot contaminate ground waters or escape to the surface . . . I would say that our underground experience has been limited to pretty small explosions.

Apparently at least one of the five underground explosions conducted to date *did* break through the surface, as evidenced by a reference in one of the hearing reports to "the beta activity of fallout from the underground shot, Jangle Series . . ."

The Unknown

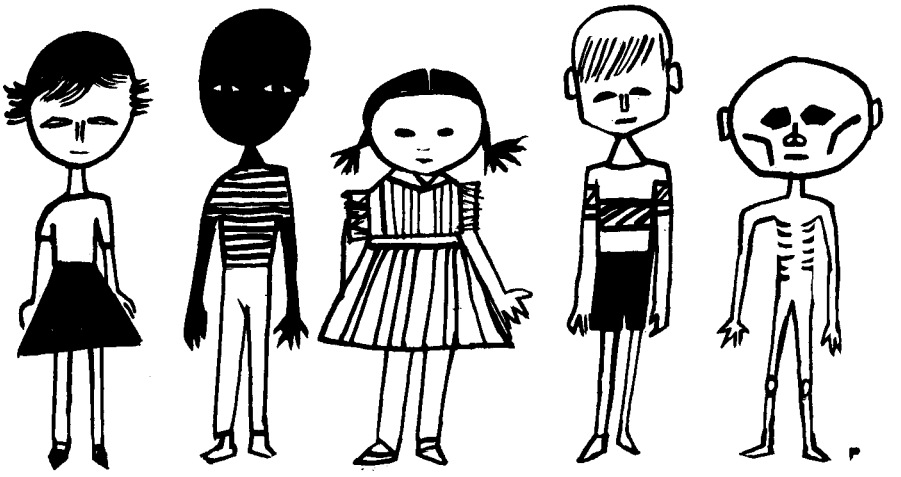
The second Congressional fallout hearings were not, of course, the last word on the effects of nuclear-bomb tests on man. For example, one extremely important question was completely unanswered by the hearings; to what extent does strontium-90 tend to concentrate in tiny areas of the bone, irradiating these "hot" areas with a dosage very many times that which might be expected if the strontium-90 were distributed uniformly in the skeleton?

Furthermore, during the past few years we have learned many new things about fallout, and radioactivity in general, that have caused us to revise some of our ideas sharply, so it would be strange if our present picture were not modified somewhat with time.

On February 10, 1957, William A. Laurence, the famous New York *Times* science editor, wrote an article on strontium-90 in human beings, using the very best information then available or known. A comparison of some of the facts of his article today, less than two and a half years later, with information presently available on fallout shows that three of the main points are now known to be misleading and in error: Laurence noted that the average strontium-90 content in the bones of man in the fall of 1955 was about one ten-thousandth of the MPC; however, this average does not reflect the relatively high concentration found in children and these very early bone samples were compared with an industrial MPC (of 1,000 S.U.) intended only for a small group of adult workers in atomic plants. He also reported that stratospheric fallout was being deposited on the ground uniformly, at a rate which we now know is far too slow. Finally, Laurence quoted three Columbia University scientists working on an AEC grant to the effect that "test explosions totaling the enormous figure of 35,000 megatons . . . would be required to bring the average world population up to the maximum permissible concentration of strontium-90 in the bone structure."

We now know, with a world total of less than 100 megatons of fission energy released to date, that the explosion of 35,000 megatons of nuclear weapons would amount to a public-health disaster of unparalleled dimensions for the world's population.

But that was almost two and a half years ago. What shall we have learned two and a half years from now?



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The One That Broke The Camel's Back

JOSEPH KRAFT

WASHINGTON

CHANCE counted heavily in the Senate's rejection of Lewis Strauss as Secretary of Commerce. But underlying the case was a general issue, only dimly perceived: that of Congress's inability to obtain the most ordinary kind of information about the workings of the Federal government. This issue has increasingly come to poison relations between the Executive and Legislative branches; in the Strauss case, it gave rise to a new phenomenon in the Senate—a kind of neo-Populism.

Of the chancy factors, personality was all-important. "Arrogant" was the description of Mr. Strauss favored by his opponents. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, a leading backer, cited a sympathetic article which asserted merely that Mr. Strauss had "plenty of confidence in Lewis L. Strauss." Arrogant or self-confident, he evinced in the hearings a manner ill calculated to charm senators.

Respect laid on with a trowel is the demeanor usually enjoined upon seekers of senatorial blessing. In winning confirmation as ambassador to Israel over opposition from Senator Fulbright, Ogden Reid, for example, served up slow stuff that only an expert slugger could move past the infield. Asked once whether he had a statement to make, Mr. Reid said: "No sir; I am here trying to co-operate to the fullest possible extent. I am sure you have some questions, and I do not want to presume to take any of your valuable time."

Mr. Strauss, by contrast, fogged in fast ones which the feeblest batter, if he connected, could hit for the distance. Repeatedly he corrected the senators on facts: when they fumbled, he prompted. In a biographical statement, read after a shorter version had been inserted by the committee chairman, Mr. Strauss found thirty-eight occasions for use of the first person singular. Without so much as a nod at David Lilienthal, Dean Acheson, Harry Truman, or even Edward Teller, he advanced the claim that "I began the movement to initiate development of . . . the thermonuclear bomb."

Connected with personality were the tactics used on behalf of Mr. Strauss. Senator Scott on the Senate floor likened the Strauss case to the Dreyfus affair. The New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune,* both Strauss supporters, immediately asserted that there was not the slightest trace of anti-Semitism in the Strauss opposition. Why, then, hint that there was? Simply to impress Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, so the figuring went on Capitol Hill, into believing that a stand against Mr. Strauss would harm his chances of winning the Jewish vote as a Presidential candidate. Rumors also circulated that a Democratic senator from New England had been won over by pledges to curtail competition from Japanese textiles; that senators from the coal states of West Virginia and Kentucky had been taken in tow by hints that imports of residual fuel oil would be kept down; and that some hanky-panky on sugar prices had appealed to Coca-Cola, which, it was said, passed the word to Georgia's senators.

In the end, two senators protested publicly against such pressures, and it is doubtful, on balance, whether Mr. Strauss gained much from these maneuverings. But apart from all personal factors, what best armed the opposition was the general problem of Congressional access to information about the government.

What Goes On?

Technological and international realities have been working for nearly half a century to make the government huge and complex. With the best will in the world, senators could not know, and officials could not tell them, *all* that goes on inside the bureaucracy. But only very slowly has there broken in upon members of Congress the sense that they have, at best, an exceedingly faint idea of what goes on. They are in the position of the man who itches all over and doesn't know where to scratch.

As target for the information itch, Lewis Strauss was the ideal candidate. He had made his money as a banker on Wall Street, doing deals beyond the fathoming of ordinary men and not a few senators. He had made his name in government in a field—atomic energy—doubly remote from public understanding: security considerations restricted knowledge of his work at the AEC; and technical complexities and the rapid pace of development pushed comprehension of the atom past the intellectual grasp of all but a handful on the Hill.

The specter of similar secret powers at the Commerce Department was raised at the very first committee hearing on the Strauss nomination. Chairman Warren Magnuson of Washington read into the record a list of fourteen different agencies, boards, commissions, and so forth that would be under Strauss's thumb, summoning images of shadowy bureaucratic empires.

Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, posed the information issue squarely in testimony on Mr. Strauss's "various deliberate efforts to avoid keeping the Joint Committee fully and currently informed." It was a good thing that someone spoke plainly, for without another word of explanation, virtually every topic in the committee hearings seemed, mysteriously, to gyrate around the information question without ever defining it.

It was brought out that Mr. Strauss, though he divulged his personal financial holdings, was not keen to make known those of his family. (Neither is anyone else, and the practice is rarely, if ever, followed.) It was claimed that Mr. Strauss used control of security clearances to beat down personal foes. An aimless trek (240 pages in the record) through the trackless waste

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of the Dixon-Yates contract arrived, *mirabile dictu,* at its starting point. Senator Kefauver, testifying to Mr. Strauss's role in Dixon-Yates, sounded almost pathetic: "There are a lot of questions left unanswered . . . Points that are left hanging up in the air . . . I don't know how long it would take me to pick my way through all this."

In the Labyrinth

Intimations that such quests might last for centuries developed dramatically out of the committee hearings. As in the McCarthy-Army circus, disputes on the smallest points dragged on without resolution. As a sampling, here is an abridged account of a dispute about whether the State Department had or had not approved a decision made by Mr. Strauss as Secretary of Commerce by recess appointment to deny an exporter's application to ship line pipe to the Soviet Union:

MARCH 11: Mr. Strauss denies the application. He says the denial was recommended by an interdepartmental committee on which the State Department is represented.

MARCH 12: A New York *Times* story says that the State Department saw "no useful purpose" in denying the application.

MARCH 17: The Providence *Evening Bulletin* criticizes Mr. Strauss editorially for implying that the denial had "State Department sanction."

MARCH 18: Senator John O. Pastore of Rhode Island raises the question in committee. Mr. Strauss testifies: "There was absolutely no difference between the State Department and the Department of Commerce on this."

APRIL 15: Chairman Magnuson writes the State Department for a copy of the minutes of the interdepartmental meeting.

MAY 6: Assistant Secretary of State William B. Macomber, Jr., replies: "The papers . . . which you have requested are a part of the Department of Commerce files, and, in any event, fall within the category . . . which I am not privileged to release to you."

MAY 11: Senator Magnuson renews the request, citing a statement by the President in favor of full disclosure.

MAY 19: The Assistant Secretary releases the requested document. It says: "The Department . . . objected to the recommendation . . . to deny an application to export line pipe to the U.S.S.R."—a seeming victory for the opposition to Mr. Strauss. But it also points out that the State Department did not exercise its right to appeal the recommendation—a leg, even if slightly spindly, to support Mr. Strauss's claim that the State Department sanctioned his decision.

In other instances the committee got even less for its pains. One issue in the hearings turned on the case of the geneticist H. J. Muller. Professor Muller had been asked by the AEC to deliver a paper at the 1955 Geneva Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. On May 18, 1955, he was informed that his paper would be acceptable. On June 17, there appeared in the magazine *Science* an article by Dr. Muller on "Genetic Damage Produced by Radiation." On July 18, Professor Muller was informed by the AEC that he would not be included in the U.S. delegation to Geneva and that accordingly he could not read his paper to the conference. In many scientific quarters there was a feeling that Dr. Muller had been kept off the delegation because he had espoused a position on the dangers of radiation at odds with the official position of the AEC.

On May 14, in the committee hearings, Senator Magnuson raised the Muller issue with Mr. Strauss. On May 21, in a letter to Senator Magnuson, Mr. Strauss said: "With reference to your inquiry concerning Prof. H. J. Muller, I have no record on this subject and would have to rely upon the records of the Atomic Energy Commission. I have no doubt that the commission will be glad to respond to your inquiry, however, and I am relaying [the inquiry] to the Chairman of the Commission. . ." On May 26, the AEC sent the committee a transcript of a press conference on the Muller affair held by Mr. Strauss himself on October 3, 1955. In it Mr. Strauss said of the decision not to allow Professor Muller to read his paper at Geneva: "The decision was a sound one made for this reason: that Dr. Muller's paper, which I understand is an excellent paper, depended upon a reference, or perhaps more than one reference to the bombing of Hiroshima. The Geneva conference was a conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. . . A discussion on the bombing of Hiroshima would have been out of bounds for the Conference."

After several chases like that, senators understandably waxed wroth. The three hostile to Mr. Strauss at the outset were joined by five more, against a majority of nine, in the committee vote. By the time the nomination reached the floor, what had started as a question of candor had swollen to an epic battle of Plain People *vs.* Omniscient Bigness.

Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota put the matter squarely. The trouble, he declared, was one "of administrative heads acting as though they were still the top management of corporations or the high officers of the military establishment. They set the policy and administer it largely on their own initiative. Their decisions, backed up by estimates of the Bureau of the Budget, are presented to the Congress with the authority of law, and Congress is charged with being reckless and irresponsible when it makes judgments that vary from the decrees of the supreme command."

Then the scratching began again. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming thundered against the "high finance" and "pervasive influence of Wall Street." Senator John

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A. Carroll of Colorado lamented that Congress "knows nothing about the [foreign aid] contracts." Mr. Strauss, he said, was "above the law, above the Constitution, above the President, above the executive branch, above the Attorney General, above the legislative branch." In fact, Mr. Strauss reminded the senator of "an old political boss in New Jersey who said: 'I am the law.' " Senator O'Mahoney broke in: "Once there was a man, Louis—Louis XIV—who said: 'I am the state.' Now we have a Lewis who says, I am the law."

NOTHING better illustrated the character of the opposition to Mr. Strauss than its geographical composition. The more sophisticated Northern liberals—e.g., Douglas and Humphrey—were elsewhere while the Strauss debate droned on. Two Republican Northern liberals, Senators Javits and Scott, actively backed Mr. Strauss. The fires of opposition were stoked by men from the smaller, rural states of the South and West: Anderson of New Mexico, Kefauver of Tennessee, O'Mahoney and McGee of Wyoming, Monroney of Oklahoma, and, on the Republican side, Langer of North Dakota. Seventy years ago they would have called themselves Populists and critics would have dubbed them "sons of the wild jackass." In one sense they are grandsons. For Mr. Strauss may or may not be lacking in candor. But the size and complexity of the government have been sanctioned by acts of Congress passed under the urgent press of circumstance. Like revolutions and peoples, circumstance cannot be put on trial.

Still, in a way familiar in democracies yet hard to define, the opposition to Mr. Strauss touched on a matter of genuine importance. Big government is inexorably escaping the very comprehension—to say nothing of control—of Congress. Insofar as its increasing complexity baffles scrutiny, it seems increasingly reasonable for Congress to pay more than cursory attention to Executive appointments—one of the few things it really can do. The very circumstances that make for Big Government work against the traditional presumption in favor of the President's right to nominate as he pleases.

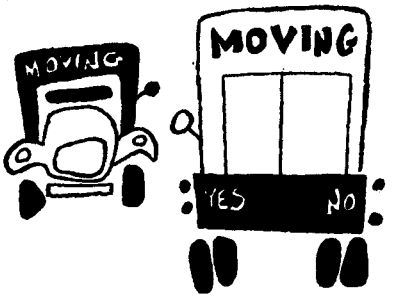
The Refugees From Civic Progress

WILLIAM H. HESSLER

CINCINNATI

RACIAL TENSION has been increasing of late in this cosmopolitan Midwestern city. But it's not because of anything that has been said or done by the U.S. Supreme Court or the governor of Arkansas or the N.A.A.C.P. It is chiefly because Cincinnati is building an expressway system and several ambitious urban-renewal projects. Such a large and costly physical betterment program entails the demolition of many slum structures. This in turn requires the uprooting, migration, and resettlement of many thousands of low-income families, most of them Negroes. As the residents of many other American cities have been discovering recently, resettlement rekindles racial antagonisms that had been dormant through many years of stabilized living patterns. Civic progress has its price.

Cincinnati's present difficulties have their counterpart in many other large American cities. The bulldozer, leveling rows of sordid tenements and obsolete warehouses, has become a symbol of the dynamic city making itself over. It dramatizes the effort to atone for the negligence of decades—negligence that turned the centers of our cities into crowded, dark, unsanitary, crime-infested warrens, surrounded by concentric circles of better living spaces to which the fortunate have fled. But the bulldozer that knocks down noisome slums is also razing dwellings—dwellings, bad as they were, that *did* shelter families.



The arithmetic of all this can be put quite simply. It is estimated that during the next eight years demolitions to make room for Cincinnati's expressways or urban redevelopment alone will do away with 19,000 dwellings. Meanwhile, the city will be growing by 2,000 households a year—that is, if there are houses available. That makes 16,000 in eight years. Thus Cincinnati will need a total of 34,000 new dwellings in eight years, not even counting the normal replacement of obsolete structures. Private enterprise may improve its recent record and build a total of 10,000 units in this period. New public housing is now scheduled for 1,932 low-income families. The city's two main urban-redevelopment projects, both in slum areas of what is called the Basin, will not house as many people as they are displacing, but they will provide dwellings for 2,858 families. It all adds up to less than 15,000 new dwelling units in prospect, to meet a demand for 34,000. As things look now, therefore, Cincinnati is going to be short about 19,000 housing units—just the number of families being crowded out of their homes by the bulldozers of civic progress.

Evanescent Alternatives

Providing homes for 19,000 displaced families in eight years in a city of 550,000 ought to be a relatively easy problem. And it might be, were it not for the fact that the 19,000 displaced units are nearly all low-income families, and eighty-five per cent of them are Negro.

There are two kinds of housing that might fill the 19,000-dwellings gap. One is public housing—built, owned, and operated by the government on a subsidy basis for low-income tenants. The other is "221" housing, named for Section 221 of the National Housing Act. This is housing built to specified standards and with-

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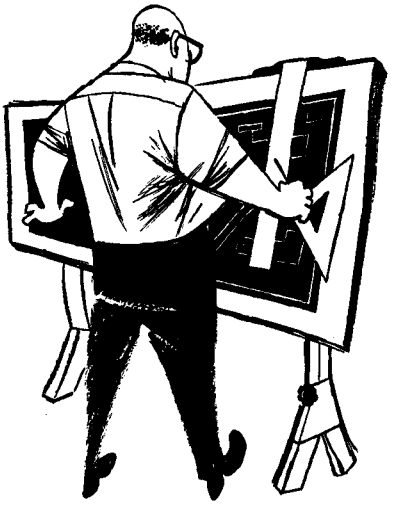
in specified cost limits after the community's need for low-rent housing has been recognized by the local government and the Federal Housing Authority. It provides a normal profit for the builder but carries a one hundred per cent guarantee of the mortgage by the Federal government and is administered on a nonprofit basis. What makes it attractive is that the promoter can borrow the whole cost, since the lender can't lose. The promoter doesn't have to put up any capital at all.

There are three possible areas that could be used for additional 221 or public housing. The first is in the unincorporated territory of Hamilton County, beyond the city limits, where suitable land is abundant. Another is in the smaller cities and villages clustered around Cincinnati, where there are numerous inexpensive sites. A third is in Cincinnati itself, where sites are at a premium.

Another alternative, of course, is simply to let nature take its course. This means that displaced families, mainly Negro, will leave their slum homes one jump ahead of the bulldozers and move into the older hilltop residential areas of Cincinnati, dividing the larger houses into small tenement flats. This in effect will create new slums and force a troubled change-over in schools as they shift from all or largely white to largely Negro. And because white families move out of a street or neighborhood when Negroes move in, there is a movement of the more prosperous white families outward to what may accurately be called the "white suburbs."

INITIALLY, the outlook seemed fairly promising. A builder in search of an honest profit set out to put up a 200-unit package of 221 housing in an unincorporated but partly developed area known as Delhi Hills, west of the city. A site was found. The county commissioners nodded approval. There was no zoning in the area, no obstacle to the project. Then the neighborhood began to stir. The whispered word was that 221 housing is relocation housing, and relocation housing is housing for Negroes. A local committee was formed to support the proposition that the people of Delhi Hills have a white suburb and they mean to keep it that way. The plans for housing two hundred displaced families went down the drain. The net effect of the Delhi Hills venture was to provide a formula for blocking relocation housing in all the unincorporated territory of the county. More than half the 414 square miles of Hamilton County was thus made out of bounds to the people displaced in the Basin of Cincinnati.

But there were still the smaller cities and villages that nearly encircle all of Cincinnati not bordered by the Ohio River. There was a good site in Sharonville, a pleasant, partly industrial community thirteen miles northeast of central Cincinnati. A builder from Dayton envisioned a 221 project there, to take 250 families. But the site was zoned for industrial use. That could be changed by a county agency, the Regional Planning Commission. But by its own rules, the commission was obliged to conduct a public hearing in the township where the zone change would occur. Before the hearing, whispering began again. Whispers turned to angry outcries, and the public hearing was a field day for the outraged smallholders of Sharonville—the white settlers on the Cincinnati perimeter. What they said publicly was that a mass housing project for low-income families would crowd their schools, congest their traffic, and lower the value of their properties. What they said less publicly was that they were determined to keep Sharonville white. In effect, the Sharonville case closed all the smaller cities and villages to relocation housing. A public hearing on a zone change or an adverse judgment by a local public body would always give time for the latent forces of prejudice to work.



SEVERAL DEVELOPERS or builders were interested in trying 221 projects in Cincinnati itself. The most energetic and aggressive of them, a young man named Vivian Anderson, found a site for a seventy-three-unit project to be called Glengate Terrace, at the dead end of a quiet street in Pleasant Ridge. Everything seemed propitious. The Federal government had allocated 3,100 units of 221 housing for Cincinnati, on the basis of its asserted need. It assigned seventy-three to Glengate Terrace "for white occupancy." (The government insists that 221 projects be designated specifically for white *or* nonwhite *or* mixed, although the same government, in a different mood, forbids such segregation in various places.)

Pleasant Ridge is a middle-class residential area within Cincinnati. As word got around about Glengate Terrace, indignation rose. This was merely public housing by another name; it would bring ruffians and hillbillies into the neighborhood, if not Negroes. There was a quasi-spontaneous mass meeting; other meetings followed. A committee was formed.

Then the lawyers moved in, bearing aloft a small technicality that had to do with the required frontage on a public street. Common Pleas Judge Simon Leis issued a permanent injunction against the project, which horrified some knowledgeable lawyers but brought joy to the propertied folk of Pleasant Ridge. Developer Anderson appealed, and Judge Leis was overruled. On further appeal, consuming months, the Ohio Supreme Court upheld the Court of Appeals.

Vivian Anderson seems to have broken the log jam, and a half-dozen developers have moved in to propose a total of 2,449 units—all but 651 of the 3,100 allocated to Cincinnati by Federal authority. But some of these won't ever reach the ground-breaking stage. One nonwhite project of 108 units was abandoned because the developer, already harassed by cost factors, didn't

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like to get telephone calls threatening his life. Even if all the proposed units were built, they still would not be nearly enough. Cincinnati's original request included justification for 8,500 units of 221 housing. But at least it has been shown that low-rental housing under Section 221 is economically feasible in some cases, and also that Cincinnati is not absolutely closed to relocation housing, as the rest of the county seems to be.

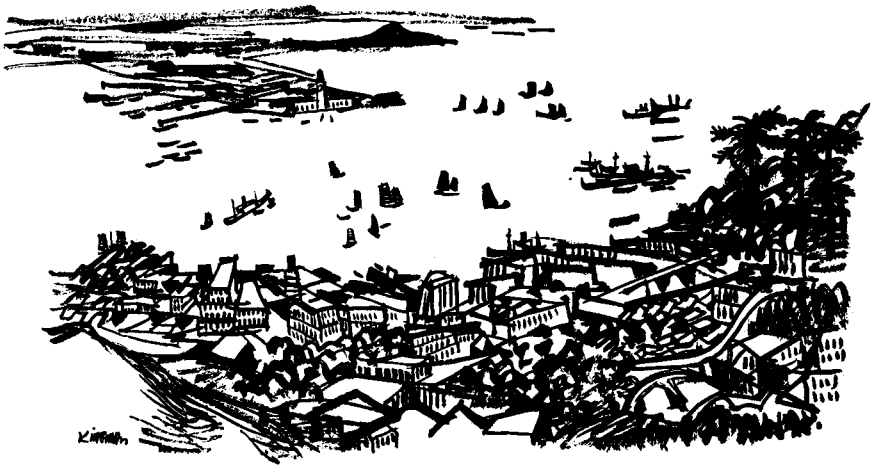
Making New Slums

Meanwhile the Cincinnati Metropolitan Housing Authority had been plodding its way over the same kind of obstacle course. Committed to some additional public housing, it found a site on Red Bank Road, in a rural slum east of the city. Anything anybody built there to any standards would be an improvement on the shanties that would be replaced. But this shack site was zoned for industry, and that would have to be changed. After prolonged skirmishes in two courts, the Housing Authority lost. Neighborhood hostility found expression from the bench, and the Red Bank Road site remains a rural slum on the edge of a big city. Although not wanted by industry, it is zoned for industry, to make sure that no clean, modern housing with indoor plumbing will rise there "to destroy values" in the surrounding industrial neighborhood.

The Housing Authority did manage to carry through one small project. The Setty Kuhn Apartments will be sixty-four attractive units for Negro occupancy in the heart of a hilltop Negro residential area. With aluminum-panel siding, interesting colors, and skillful use of rugged terrain, it will be much better housing than that which surrounds it on all sides. Even so, when the project was announced, Negroes of the neighborhood hired a lawyer and hurried down to City Hall to protest. They wanted no public housing in their respectable neighborhood, and no trashy characters from the West End of the Basin, beneficiaries of a Federal subsidy. After a lively public hearing, everything was straightened out. But it showed how deep is the prejudice, even among rather low-income people and Negroes into the bargain, against invasion by displaced persons.

The upshot of these and other frustrating experiences was that the Metropolitan Housing Authority, directors, and board members have given up trying to find sites. They already own enough land, adjacent to existing projects, for the 1,932 units scheduled. The result, which they do not relish, is to make ever larger enclaves of public housing, one at least with its own school and shopping center. Here, in clearly labeled islands, is a separate communal life, restricted to a caste still defined by law in terms of family income. It is a poor solution, but at the moment it seems the only one that offers any hope at all to even a few of the nineteen thousand displaced families of Cincinnati.

As to the rest, nature will simply have to take its true course. A good many displaced Negro families will be moving into old housing in what are now slightly rundown older white residential areas, creating new tensions and new adjustment problems. Then there will be a mounting trek of middle-income people into the white suburbs, depriving the city of both taxpaying ability and civic leadership. It all points to a time, perhaps fifteen years from now or twenty, when Cincinnati, like many other large American cities, will be populated almost entirely by Negroes and other low-income groups.



The View from Hong Kong

ALICE BAKER

Several times a day, the train from Red China arrives at the end of the line in Hong Kong and lets off its passengers beside the magnificent harbor. It isn't always possible to pick out the people who have come through from China, because on its way down from the border the train is really the local bus, making stops in the villages so that farmers and local merchants can ride into the big city.

Since everyone in Hong Kong is in a hurry, the station empties faster than a commuting station on a weekend. Even so, a trained observer can usually pick out the university students on the way from the mainland to their homes in Southeast Asia. That's mostly a matter of age and the season of the year, though plain dress is also a clue. Everyone, of course, can spot the British businessmen returning to their Hong Kong headquarters from a trading foray into China. But some of the other passengers from the mainland are harder to identify.

They may be Chinese, now residents of Hong Kong, returning from a visit to their families still on the mainland. There are always a few of these, drawn back for a quick trip by births or deaths or illness or by simple filial affection; since the necessary travel papers seem to pose no

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problem at either end, a number of expatriate Chinese go back to their birthplaces every spring for Ching Ming, the annual ceremony of sweeping their ancestors' graves. The train may also bring some Communist officials, a missionary just released from prison, and even a legal immigrant or two. Whenever somebody goes back to the mainland permanently, someone else is allowed into Hong Kong.

This quota is not, of course, sufficient to supply the demand of those who want to get out of China. People in a position to make an informed guess say that three or four thousand refugees arrive in Hong Kong each month. Officially, neither the British nor the Chinese approve of this traffic, and the two sets of border guards do their duty so well that only a few refugees get past them. A more practicable refugee route is via the nearby Portuguese port of Macao, where the rules are less rigidly enforced, and then on to Hong Kong by junk. Every so often the Hong Kong papers report that the harbor police have caught a smuggler with fifty or sixty people on board (the fare is from fourteen to twenty-one dollars a head) and have sent them back to Macao. But those who aren't caught are absorbed into the Hong Kong economy according to their own luck and talents.

Teeming Tailors

Like the Chinese who got there ahead of them, the newcomers benefit from the fact that the British have done an astonishing job of providing housing and essential services and of keeping food prices down during a period when the population has increased by fifty per cent. (A million Chinese have managed to get from Red China to Hong Kong in the decade since the Communists conquered the mainland.) But even modest prices are too much for anyone without a job, and finding a job and then hanging onto it is the chief preoccupation of almost everybody in Hong Kong.

Tho hotels and all of the shops are overstaffed. And tailors, as every tourist can tell you, make good clothes at bargain prices in twenty-four hours. Any number of experienced tailors can be hired at a moment's notice, even though the job may last only one day. Officials always look helpless when asked about the level of unemployment. The answer seems to be that the Chinese family system makes the familiar western economic indices inapplicable. If one member of a family has a job, he pays the food and rent bills for everyone, and if his work is of a kind to be taken home and done piecemeal—as it often is in the light industry typical of Hong Kong—then instead of one tailor working a normal workday, every member of his family may work forty-five minutes.

The streets in the center of the city are full of men looking for odd jobs, like moving office furniture or helping to unload a truck. As a result, few people in Hong Kong are

unemployed, but practically the entire work force among the city's population of nearly three million is underemployed, usually at poor pay rates and with impossible working conditions.

And yet the Chinese keep coming in such numbers that people in Hong Kong used to be afraid the Communists would come after them and overrun the island. But this fear has died down recently. The Communists, who are forever threatening Formosa and Quemoy and Matsu, never threaten Hong Kong in their propaganda broadcasts, in the mainland press, or in any of the three Communist papers published in Hong Kong in Chinese every day. (They have an official paper that lays down the Communist line, a mass-circulation one aimed at workers, and a small afternoon paper put out for intellectuals.)

The explanation seems to have something to do with the fact that Hong Kong buys more than $200 million a year worth of goods from the mainland, most of it foodstuffs. The payment is in freely convertible currency which the Chinese use to finance their overseas purchases throughout the world. Although the People's Republic does not maintain a consulate in Hong Kong, British businessmen can always seem to get visas, plane priorities, and hotel accommodations for the mainland, but their visits don't produce much business. China's purchases in Hong Kong run at the rate of about one-tenth of its sales. The commercial interests of Hong Kong have been disappointed by the results—it is fairly common knowledge that they brought great pressure on the British government to recognize Communist China in the first place.

As far as the British government was concerned, trade with China has always been the basis of policy, so it was natural enough for the Foreign Office to heed the advice of these British Hong Kong merchants when they pressed for a quick recognition of the new Communist government in China. It is an open secret in Hong Kong that a number of these old and powerful firms are sorry now. They threw away their one bargaining weapon—recognition—and have gotten nothing in return but the constant frustration of any efforts to do business with the Chinese. This well-known attitude on the part of important British interests may explain why unofficial Americans in Hong Hong talk less about U.S. recognition of Communist China than they did several years ago. Most Americans in Hong Kong feel that unless the Chinese change their way with foreigners, U.S. recognition would be pointless. At the moment there are no signs of change.

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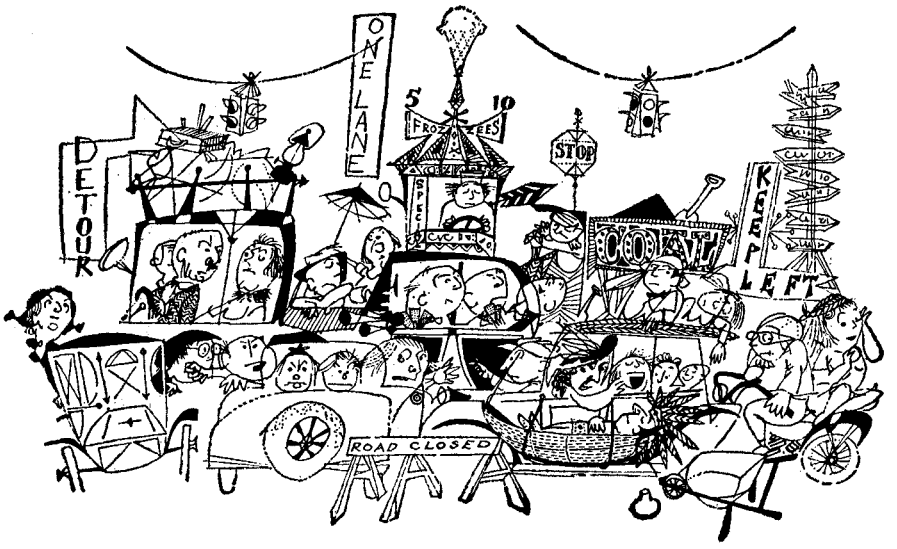

Vance Packard Discovers America

SEYMOUR M. LIPSET

THE BLURB on the back of Vance Packard's best seller, *The Status Seekers* (David McKay, $4.50), states that the author is "an associate member of The American Sociological Society." As one who sits on the membership committee of that society, I would like to inform all intellectual status seekers that they too may become "associate members" by paying twenty dollars, regardless of whether or not they ever took a course in sociology, or for that matter whether they ever went to college. The manner of the blurb is consistent with the matter of this book.

The commercial success of Mr. Packard's work, combined with—or perhaps the result of—the laudatory reviews of *The Status Seekers* published in leading magazines and newspapers, poses a problem for the general intellectual community, which should include the book-review editors: how to handle "popular" books which purport to convey the findings of social science but which misuse scientific evidence to construct a prejudiced and partisan case. This is a strong statement, but it can only too easily be illustrated by reference to Mr. Packard.

There are four principal theses in his book: that there has been a considerable growth in the American's concern with his social status; that there has been a decline in social mobility, in the opportunity to move from one social class to another; that as a result of this decline the plight of the lower strata is actually worse "subjectively" than it ever has been; and, finally, that there is a growing propensity for status-anxious Americans to become superconformists.

These trends are supposed to have increased greatly since 1940. Mr. Packard tells us that "Lest we forget it, America by the beginning of the present era (around 1940) had opportunities for upward mobility and social contact [between people at different levels in society] that are much less present today." In short, it is asserted that the almost unanimous conclusion of the numerous sociological inquiries about different aspects of American society (hundreds of which are cited in the book) is that America is becoming much less equalitarian, that the democratic American Way of Life is being slowly eroded.

THE ONLY TROUBLE with this conclusion is that it is wrong, just as the trouble with the citations from the sociological literature is that they are selective and biased.

ITEM.—"*There has been an almost startling rise in the number of people who are bored with their work.*" In fact, the most comprehensive annual summary of the various studies of "job satisfaction," that of Hoppack and Robinson in the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, reports a constant decline from 1946 to the present in the proportion of workers who say they are dissatisfied with their work.

ITEM.—"*Several European nations (such as Holland, England, and Denmark) have gone further than America in developing an open-class system, where the poor but talented young can rise on their merits.*" I think I can say, without immodesty, that I have done more work in the area of comparative mobility statistics than any other person in the United States, and the results of my studies, like those of many other sociologists, are simply that a number of European countries and the United States seem to have roughly comparable rates of social mobility; no more or less can be said at the moment.

ITEM.—"*The results of all these pressures toward rigidity in the work lives of most people in the three supporting [lower] classes in America is a diminishing upward mobility, and a slackening of ambition.*" Though the names of many sociologists are mentioned in this book, those of Natalie Rogoff and Sidney Goldstein are not, and for good reason. These investigators have made the most comprehensive studies of mobility among the population of the United States in recent periods, and their conclusions confound Packard's thesis. Thus Dr. Rogoff compared two samples of male applicants for marriage licenses in Indianapolis for the years 1905-1912 and 1938-1941. Since in that city the license forms asked for the occupation of both the applicant and his father, she was able to compare the amount of mobility in the two generations. There was more upward than downward

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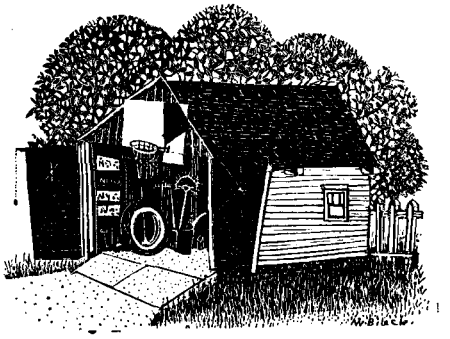
movement in both periods, and the rate of upward mobility was slightly higher in 1940 than in 1914. Goldstein, who studied the occupational shifts of persons during their job careers within a forty-year period in a Pennsylvania city, also concluded that mobility had "increased steadily from 1910-1920 to 1940-1950."

ITEM.—The great increase in college education is seen by Mr. Packard as emphasizing rather than blurring class lines, since "*More and more, opportunity at the higher levels begins and ends with the choice of education.*" The facts here are complicated, but basically, so far as we know, it has *always* been true that the business elite has been much better educated than the population as a whole. Thus Reinhard Bendix has reported that in the first half of the nineteenth century, when only five per cent of Americans went to high school, twenty-two per cent of the leading businessmen mentioned in the *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* had graduated from college, ten per cent had some college education, and only seventeen per cent had not gone beyond grammar school. Today, more Americans of lower-status origin have the requisite education, the basic "ticket of admission," to use Mr. Packard's words, to take part in the competition for high economic position than ever before. About thirty per cent of all college students are now of working-class origin, and the proportion seems to be increasing.

ITEM.—In support of his thesis that opportunity is declining, Mr. Packard cites two studies of the business elite, one by C. Wright Mills (whose views on this and other subjects he finds compatible with his own) and another by W. Lloyd Warner. The latter, however, as Mr. Packard indicates, did find when he compared his findings for the 1950's with a somewhat similar 1928 study that "there is a slight gain in executives with laboring backgrounds." However, lest we conclude too much from this, Mr. Packard tells us that while Warner's finding holds true for the backgrounds of the three top executives of leading corporations, the working-class gain disappears when only the head of the corporation is considered. He does not inform his readers, though, that the 1928 study included all corporations with more than five million dollars in assets, whereas the more recent survey dealt exclusively with top executives of corporations worth more than fifty million dollars—a difference between the samples which makes the finding that the 1950's group were not of higher social origins than the 1928 one all the more impressive.

A report on the *five* (not two) extant studies of changes in the composition of the business elite written by Reinhard Bendix and Frank Howton illustrates the difference between the methods employed in *The Status Seekers* and in good academic scholarship. Bendix and Howton state: "Four of the studies indicate that the proportion of business leaders who have come from families of businessmen, or of businessmen and gentry farmers, or from families classified as 'wealthy' and 'middle class' has remained remarkably *stable* in the course of time



[over 150 years]. . . . This conclusion is at variance with the one reached in Mills' study. . . ."

ITEM.—On the subject of general occupational mobility, Mr. Packard reports accurately that "Richard Centers found in a nationwide sampling several years ago that sons are more likely to be in the same occupational class as their fathers than in any other class. He found that seventy-one per cent of them were at a level 'relatively similar' to their fathers." But Mr. Packard does not think it necessary to tell us that Joseph Kahl, whose more comprehensive and more recent analyses are cited in other contexts, has found that sixty-seven per cent of the male labor force has been socially mobile either upward or downward. The difference in the results between Centers and Kahl is in large measure a function of the number of classes the sociologist makes available for people to move among. The more classes, the more movement—the son of an unskilled worker who has become a skilled worker is classified as mobile when one considers skilled and unskilled workers as comprising different classes, and nonmobile when just one working class is imagined. Mr. Packard is, of course, perfectly free to choose the number of classes he wants to work with; but it is striking that when discussing the status system he prefers to emphasize the existence of many status classes, and when discussing occupational mobility he prefers to work with few classes.

ITEM.—A basic cause of the supposed decline of mobility is "*the role of big unions in freezing men and women to their jobs, and discouraging initiative.*" This old saw has been effectively demolished by the economist Arthur Ross, who has shown that the quitting rate on jobs always declines in times of prosperity—that it went down strikingly during the 1920's, when unions could not be blamed, just as it has gone down again in recent years.

ITEM.—Mr. Packard, to show how dreary life is in America, quotes repeatedly from one study of automobile assembly-line workers who are unhappy about their work; and he emphasizes their complaint that they are less well off than they would be if they could handle a variety of different machines—like the repairmen, whom all the assembly-line workers envy. But Mr. Packard does not mention the fact that among the two and a half million workers in the entire automobile industry, the largest single occupational group is that of the auto-repair mechanics (more than 500,000), who far outnumber those on the assembly line (less than 300,000). It may be noted that the second largest group in the auto complex are managers, who number more than 400,000.

BUT IF THE POINTS made in *The Status Seekers* about declining mobility, opportunity, and job satisfaction run counter to much of what the social sciences have actually found, it is nevertheless true that there are sharp differences in the behavior of people at different levels

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of our class hierarchy. Rich and poor, old wealth and new, do differ greatly in their political values, in their sex practices and codes, in their consumption patterns, and so forth. People are unquestionably greatly concerned with their relative social positions; they do think a lot about the "character" of the neighborhood in which they live; they do assign different degrees of prestige to various occupations; they are interested in the social position of their children's friends; no one can deny that many Americans are terribly anxious about their social status.

Yet after acknowledging all this, one must also point out that these same phenomena—which Mr. Packard sees as sensational evidence of the decline of equalitarianism, particularly since 1940—were reported in quite similar terms by various foreign observers in the nineteenth century. Though these travelers were impressed with the pervasive equalitarianism of American society, they also called attention to the fact that, *precisely as a result of their emphasis on equality,* Americans were *more* status-conscious than those who lived in the more aristocratic systems of Europe.

Thus Harriet Martineau, who wrote that "the English insolence of class to class is not even conceived of in America," also noted that in the Philadelphia of the mid-1830's, those who lived on Chestnut Street and whose grandfathers had made the family's money would not associate with those on Arch Street whose family fortunes were derived from their fathers. James Bryce, late in the nineteenth century, stressed the fact that "there is no rank in America," nothing which *entitled* a man to "deference or respect from others," but he also pointed to the desire of wealthy Americans for objective signs of status differentiation, and commented that "there is at present a passion among Americans for genealogical researches." Frances Trollope found American equality circa 1830 disgusting to her conservative eyes, but tells about a girl excluded from a school ball because her well-to-do father was a self-employed mechanic rather than a merchant. And there are many others who perceived and wrote about the coexistence of equality and exclusiveness. They explained the greater snobbery in this country as compared with Europe by suggesting that the very emphasis on equality, the lack of a well-defined deference structure in which there is no doubt about social rankings, makes well-to-do Americans place more rather than less emphasis on status background and status symbols. As Bryce commented: "It may seem a paradox to observe that a millionaire has a better and easier social career open to him in England than in America. . . . The existence of a system of artificial rank enables a stamp to be given to base metal in Europe which cannot be given in a thoroughly republican country." More recently, an American sociologist, Howard Brotz, seeking to explain why Jews are more readily accepted socially in England than in America, has written: "In a democracy snobbishness can be far more vicious than in an aristocracy. Lacking that natural confirmation of superiority which political authority alone can give, the rich and particularly the new rich feel threatened by mere contact with their inferiors." Brotz points out that the American custom of excluding those of lower status from social and athletic functions does not exist where aristocratic norms govern, since there "one cannot be declassed, so to speak, by play activities." The English squire played cricket with his tenant farmers, just as white children in the ante-bellum South played hide-and-seek with pickaninnies. Where class differences are simply accepted, snobbery is superfluous.

And if concern with status is a reaction to feelings of uncertainty about one's social position in a society whose basic values deny anyone the right *legitimately* to claim higher status than his neighbor, so are the "conformist" tendencies that Vance Packard finds increasingly prevalent among status-seeking Americans. The image of the American conformist is prominent in the writings of Tocqueville; and Harriet Martineau reported in 1837 that "Americans may travel over the world, and find no society but their own which will submit [as much] to the restraint of perpetual caution, and reference to the opinions of others."

MR. PACKARD'S basic failure is that after discovering that America has classes, a discovery which *he* made at some time since 1940, he jumped to the conclusion that America rather than his perception of it had decisively changed; and he ran to the sociology books to find quotations and half-quotations which would illustrate his "discovery." His present associate membership in the American Sociological Society is, alas, no substitute for that introductory course in sociology which he gives no evidence of having taken.

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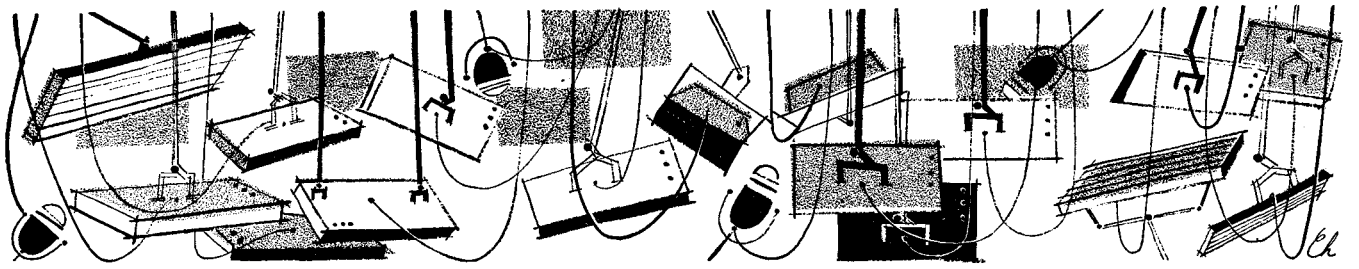

CHANNELS

Time for a Story

MARYA MANNES

SINCE TELEVISION is relentlessly ruled by time, those who are ruled in turn by television have found that the only way to achieve any freedom *in* time is to know precisely what can and what cannot be done with fifteen minutes, with half an hour, with an hour and a half, and—although this has happened only once, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*—with three. For there are laws behind this which are only now in the process of defining. And the area in which these laws operate most crucially is drama.

What kind of story can you tell in half an hour? Well, the screen is flooded with formula films churned out by Hollywood that fall mainly into three categories: the Western, the crime-and-detective short, and the situation comedy.

The first two substitute violent action for character, clever plot contrivance for substance. If a few human vignettes can be thrown in, the show is "adult" and "literate," but on the whole these films live wholly by physical violence: the shot, the punch in the jaw or stomach, the screaming swerve of a car or the rearing swerve of a horse are enough to keep twenty million viewers glued to the screen.

The situation comedy—"Father Knows Best" is a prime example—presents the same family in a parade of recognizable situations, ranging from Junior's first date to Sis's first formal. Homely details and clever gag lines provide the action required to keep the apparently lovable stereotypes in motion for half an hour. In fact, it is questionable whether any writer could postpone the resolution any longer.

WHEN the hour-long drama came in some years ago, notably in "Studio One," and "Philco Playhouse," writers began to take a deep breath. Sixty minutes! Or fifty-four, anyway. And live! Time to build, time to reveal, time to resolve! Or so they thought. But though there

were excellent dramas presented in those days, it became increasingly apparent that an hour was really not long enough to build character, not long enough to resolve an idea of any scope or consequence. What it could do—and Paddy Chayevsky was one of the first to make use of it in this way—was to open the door on one life in one room for one moment and to record one small shift in human relationships; as Robert Herridge has put it, "one half-turn in a situation." Here you could have the poignancy of fragmentation without the contrivance of a solution. And for a while this worked, particularly if the writer addressed his eye and ear to the keyhole, committing himself to realism.

But still the adventurous dramatist needed more room to breathe. In 1956 "Playhouse 90" on CBS gave him the hour and a half which permits him to do so. Some of television's finest plays have resulted: "Requiem for a Heavyweight," "Little Moon of Alban," and "Days of Wine and Roses" are three of many. Here at last complexities of character had time to unfold, and action grew out of emotion instead of precipitating it. And although the incursion of multiple commercials (worse each year) is a destroyer of mood, devastating to the long line, the seventy minutes still left to the playwright are a boon compared to the truncated hour he had before.

But they are an expensive boon; so expensive, in fact, that the future of "Playhouse 90" has often been in jeopardy, the victim of prodigious costs. And although both NBC and CBS plan long specials for next season, they still provide no assurance of a regular form in which the television playwright can say what he wants to say.

AND THIS, in part, is where "Theatre for a Story" comes in: a new venture of CBS Films in which producer Robert Herridge has a very definite idea of what you can say, as a dramatist, in thirty minutes.

Herridge ought to know. He has produced and written for "Camera Three," taken over the summer "Studio One" for a season, produced plays on "Kraft Playhouse," and was responsible for much of the excellence of the "Seven Lively Arts" series which CBS abandoned all too quickly a year and a half ago.

Now he is using the half-hour film form, on half the budget used for the standard Hollywood short, to convey a new kind of theater on television.

"I'm not interested in the 'fourth-

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wall-out' kind of theater, the theater of realism," he says. "I want the open stage, the poetic stage, with larger values. I'm aiming in these half hours at a sort of lightninglike illumination, and for this I find the short-story form ideal."

The first film in the series, "Trip to Chardis," proves his point. This tale of a Southern mother who takes her two small boys on a wagon journey to see their father before he is hanged for murder is the most moving and beautiful television play I can remember. It is done with the utmost simplicity and a minimum of words, and "illumination" is precisely what Mildred Dunnock and the two remarkably touching boys bring to the story.

As an instance of the "open stage" technique, the scenes in "Trip to Chardis" are achieved by a few props and a remarkable use of light: the bunks where the boys sleep, the wagon in which they jolt, the prison which they visit, the cell where their father stands—all these exist in space and time rather than in substance. They have an inner significance that no conventional studio set could convey, and because they are not fixed they allow for a fluidity of action that can keep pace with the narration, a form of exposition in which Herridge is expert and in which he firmly believes.

Future productions, planned or in progress, are Synge's "Riders to the Sea" with Maureen Stapleton; Chekhov's "Gusev"; "Girl on the Road," by Louis Adamic; and two or three original scripts by Lee Pogostin, one of the most talented new television writers.

ALTHOUGH MOST of the material for the show is adapted from short stories, Herridge is not confining himself to any one form. For the second half hour he has done is devoted entirely to "cool" jazz and the trumpet of Miles Davis. "It is a story in sound," says Herridge. "You know, a real jazz musician will say 'What I blow is me.' And this was the story of Miles Davis himself, in sound."

The hope—and likelihood—is that "Theatre for a Story" will be seen weekly at a prime viewing hour in the fall: something to look forward to as the first imaginative use of the medium in a long time.

MUSIC

101 Brass Cannon

FRED GRUNFELD

WE MAY CONSIDER it axiomatic that it's great to be alive, but in music it's greater to be dead for about a hundred and fifty or two hundred years, so that the sesquicentennials and the bicentennials can take place. When the two-hundredth anniversary of the death of George Frederick Handel occurred not long ago—on April 14, to be exact—the city of New York demonstrated what can be done for a composer if only he is dead long enough. The mayor himself provided moral support for a Handel festival by issuing a proclamation that called the composer a "world citizen" and cited his connections with Germany, the land of his birth; Italy, where he learned some of his most valuable music lessons; and England, his adopted home for nearly fifty years. Even the Irish had a stake in the festivities, as the proclamation duly pointed out, because *"Messiah,* his masterpiece and most important musical gift to mankind . . . he conducted and played for the first time in Dublin."

Someone at City Hall forgot that Handel also endeared himself to the British Jews of his time by glorifying ancient Hebrews in *Judas Maccabaeus, Solomon, Esther, Samson,* and many others. World citizen or not, Handel at least has tremendous vote-getting possibilities in New York.

The Handel Festival Committee attracted an impressive array of sponsors and name lenders, from the Retail Dry Goods Association and the Florists' Club to Heitor Villa-Lobos and Leopold Stokowski. About twenty musical organizations —choirs, orchestras, and chamber groups—paid their respects to Handel during March, April, and May. Naturally all of the big amateur choruses in town turned into Handelians for the occasion, but a central program committee did its work well, and there was only one *Messiah.* Some equally deserving but far less familiar scores were revived for the occasion, including the *St. John Passion, Alexander's Feast, Acis and Galatea,* the *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day,* and *Xerxes* (in which the famous "Largo" appears). *Acis,* with Victoria de Los Angeles heading the cast, astonished its audience with arias and duets that are as lyrical and romantic as anything ever written for the opera. Another major event of the festival, the Dessoff Choir's performance of *Israel in Egypt,* presented the picturesque side of Handel—frogs that hop musically from measure to measure and flies that go buzzing through the strings.

A few of the festival concerts were not so well performed. "We have some wonderful people in the orchestra," a cellist explained, "but we don't play too well because we don't get enough rehearsal time. The man who underwrites our expenses considers this just a social gambit, a way of breaking into high society. Our budget is too small for adequate rehearsals, but he spends twice as much on the parties after the concerts."

Handel himself would have been vastly amused by the situation; he never had enough time to compose

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his music, let alone rehearse it properly. Like many of his eighteenth-century colleagues (before Beethoven imbued composing with an air of solemnity and significance), Handel had a happy facility for turning out reams of manuscript at a moment's notice. All of *Messiah*, for example, took only twenty-four days to complete—by no means an unusual record for those days, although some biographers have taken this as evidence that Divine Providence was pushing the pen as Handel sat at his desk in the little room overlooking Hanover Square.

Such misconceptions are bound to arise if the composer wore a wig, played the organ, and mentioned God in his choruses. Posterity has awarded Handel not only world citizenship but also an untarnished halo and a sort of clerical collar. Those hundred thousand English choristers, busily acquiring merit by singing Handel as though he had the moral efficacy of a Tibetan prayer wheel—what would become of their faith if they beheld the old boy as he really was, a sort of genial Dutch uncle who might also be called one of the greatest creative opportunists since Benvenuto Cellini?

An opportunist in the best sense, of course—someone who seizes chances and possibilities and incorporates them within the framework of his art. Unlike Bach, who was tied to a succession of irritating jobs throughout his life, Handel struck out on his own, risked his own capital when he could not borrow from others, and rode the seesaw of free enterprise in the cutthroat theatrical world of London. He was a businessman. In the 1720's and 1730's, his fortunes depended on the operatic tides; as producer of his own Italian-style operas, he made a small fortune while they remained in fashion and lost it even more quickly when English society turned its back.

AT THE SAME TIME he was at the mercy of the singers he had to contend with—not the beef-and-kidney voices we associate with Handel today but the far more temperamental *castrati*, highly prized for their disembodied sopranos, and high-strung prima donnas whose irritabilities, as recorded in the annals of the London stage, would make Maria Callas look like the very model of docility and charm.

On one occasion when Handel had to scout the Continent for talent to satisfy his novelty-hungry patrons, he paid Francesca Cuzzoni the equivalent of thirty-two thousand dollars a year for joining his company. They say she was coarse and squat, but she could sing "like an angel," and the day after her debut the price of tickets at Handel's theater quadrupled. Cuzzoni found herself surrounded by admirers; she created a new fashion when she swept onstage in a brown dress trimmed with silver, a design that aroused more enthusiasm than the music she sang and soon appeared all over town.

With Cuzzoni at the height of her fame, Handel hired a second soprano of renown, Faustina Bordoni. Although Cuzzoni's admirers conducted a vigorous campaign against her, Faustina won supporters of her own, for she sang as well as her rival and looked attractive to boot. Night after night the opposing factions came to

the theater to cheer and hiss. Handel, smiling at the box office, shrewdly arranged his scores so that Cuzzoni and Bordoni had equally important parts. They were both "hussies" to him: he called one a "she-devil" and the other "Beelzebub's spoiled child." In any event it is no wonder that Handel's operas, all hybrid creatures of peculiar circumstances like these, failed to survive on the world's stages. He saw them go out of style with a whoosh like a deflated toy balloon—so quickly, in fact, that when he closed the doors of his theater, in 1737, he owed some $150,000 and came close to serving an extended term in debtors' prison.

When it dawned on him after twenty-odd years that an English public might prefer English texts instead of Italian libretti, Handel at last found the key to a successful old age and a proper afterlife. The oratorios paid off his creditors. They changed him from an embattled impresario into a dignified elder statesman of music. They smoothed his way into Westminster Abbey. But if he went to heaven, as he surely did, it was for other reasons: the oratorios are only Italian operas in disguise—Bible operas in English, shorn of scenery and action. Much of the love music he had written for the amorous Italian stage fits very nicely into this "sacred" framework, and sounds equally valid in either context. "Though the panegyrists of music base their adulation far more on the sources of inspiration than on the music itself"—as Stravinsky has pointed out—"it is in the quality of his musical material and not in the nature of his ideas that [a composer's] true greatness lies."

ONE CONSISTENT THREAD of greatness that runs through all Handel's music, German or Italian, English or Irish, has to do with his endless quest for newer and more glorious sounds. Always a sonic sensualist, he experimented constantly with larger and more complex groupings of instruments. When he first came to London, orchestras were still in the most rudimentary stage. The city's first public concert room, a loft belonging to the coal dealer Thomas Britton, could be reached only by a rickety flight of steps nailed to the outside of the building, and the ensemble consisted chiefly of amateurs. By 1717, when he wrote *Water Music* for King George I, he employed a bargeful of musicians, "about fifty in number, who played on all kinds of instruments, to wit trumpets, horns, hautboys, bassoons, German flutes, French flutes, violins and basses. . ."

In 1749, for a display of royal fireworks, he assembled an orchestra of twenty-four oboes, twelve bassoons, nine trumpets, nine horns, one contra-bassoon, three pairs of kettledrums, and a serpent (or bass cornet), augmented by 101 brass cannon. In certain other works he anticipated stereophonic sound, deploying his forces in three sections—string orchestra in the middle and two wind choirs on each side—answering each other antiphonally in echo, interplay,

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and argument. In scoring his operas and oratorios he rarely passed up the chance to develop such devices or effects as double choruses and sumptuous combinations of unusual instruments.

Yet despite the bicentennial and the current furor about stereo, the record companies have barely scratched the surface where Handel is concerned. No producer has yet ventured to make a *Water Music* with the original instrumentation, although Epic's recent release, with Eduard van Beinum leading the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra, has an imposingly royal sound. Mercury, which didn't hesitate to record cannon for its *1812 Overture,* confined itself to the conventional Harty orchestration in the *Royal Fireworks* album by the London Symphony, under Antal Dorati.

FOR ITS PRINCIPAL contribution to the bicentennial, Columbia hunted up an English baroque organ that Handel actually played on: E. Power Biggs used it to record the complete organ concertos with the London Philharmonic under Sir Adrian Boult (only Nos. 1-12 have appeared thus far). In spite of the authentic instrument and atmosphere, the set makes a rather disappointing impression because Biggs plays with a polite, academic detachment that drains off most of the force in these scores. Few other new items have been issued: A sturdy performance of the *Dettingen Te Deum* was recorded at the Holland Festival by Epic, and Capitol offers the tenor Richard Lewis in a very welcome collection of oratorio arias. The prize for the most interesting bicentennial release to date should go to the delightful Vox anthology of operatic overtures performed by Rolf Reinhardt and the Bamberg Symphony; it includes preludes to such long-neglected dramas as *Terpsichore, Rodelinda, Theseo,* and *Ariadne.* Since some of the exciting fruits of this spring's Handel revival have doubtless been piped into the tape recorders, we can expect more toward the end of the year. We are coming to realize that Handel wrote much more than *Messiah,* and that the wise old opportunist deserves many more opportunities, even if there isn't time to rehearse everything.

MOVIES

Strawberries and Lemons

JAY JACOBS

THE SWEDISH FILM MAKER Ingmar Bergman, whose detractors seem to be almost as fanatical as his partisans, has provoked a good deal of critical controversy in Europe with his latest effort, *Wild Strawberries,* and will probably stir up some more of the same in this country, since the picture is an easy one to get argumentative about. Its theme, which concerns a smug old man's sudden confrontation with the fact that his life has been devoid of love, is certainly a powerful one, but its presentation—despite a good many moments of high intensity

and some really extraordinary acting —is exasperatingly diffuse. Mr. Bergman, like Webster, is much possessed by death, and much concerned with violence, decay, isolation, fertility, dream significance, and the existence of God; all of which is evidenced by a rather heavy-handed indulgence in visual symbolism, with frequent bursts of self-conscious palaver. Whether a single film is a suitable vehicle for an exhaustive exploration of all these subjects is highly debatable; and when, as happens in *Wild Strawberries,* a couple of undergraduates get into a sophomoric argument about God that in no way advances or illuminates the matter at hand, one can only conclude that Mr. Bergman is simply parading his own ideas, and that these ideas are neither very original nor very profound.

So much for the negative part of this report. On the brighter side, Mr. Bergman's direction of his own script is impeccable, and many of the individual scenes are astonishingly well done: there is a dream —or, rather, nightmare—sequence at the beginning of the film that had the audience (a presumably hard-boiled group at a press preview) audibly gasping the night I saw it. Later on, in another dream scene in which the aged protagonist is subjected to something between a classroom examination and a Kafkaesque trial, there is a complete sense of the sickeningly inflated reality (which is all the worse for simultaneously being something less than real) one usually encounters only in one's guiltiest dreams. Between nightmares, Mr. Bergman has created a number of episodes that are, by turns, almost heartbreakingly tender (he is particularly good at capturing the brusque, embarrassed tendernesses of the aged toward one another), sweetly idyllic, and acutely nostalgic—all presented with an admirable restraint one wishes he would apply to his propensities for philosophy and symbolism.

To my mind, the most remarkable thing about this picture is the performance, in the leading role, of Victor Sjöström, an incredibly spry gentleman of eighty, who is on view almost constantly, and who is never less than fascinating. The role, that of an austere old pedant, is, for all its great length, not a fat part studded with bravura passages, but a constricted one calling for unfailing sensitivity and a good deal of subtlety. Mr. Sjöström plays it flawlessly.

On the distaff side, there are quite a few handsome young women present, but an elderly lady named Jullen Kindahl, who plays Mr. Sjöström's testy housekeeper, carries off the honors.

Wild Strawberries is not quite the

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completely realized work of art some of its more vociferous admirers have claimed it to be; but, all in all, it's one of the closest things to it you're likely to see in the movies for a good while.

JOHN FORD, who has frequently manifested an inordinate fondness for internal strife of one sort or another, has again examined his favorite ruckus, the Civil War, in his latest film, *The Horse Soldiers.* The results of his examination are rather disappointing, but this may not be entirely Mr. Ford's fault, since his writers, John Lee Mahin and Martin Rackin, hardly add up to another Stephen Crane. The story they have provided for him is, in more than one sense, an implausible drag.

A Union colonel (John Wayne, who apparently is as essential to these Ford jobs as the crank was to the brass-radiator Model T) is sent, with a brigade of cavalry, to knock out a railway line at Newton Station, Mississippi, thereby cutting off the flow of vital supplies to Vicksburg. Just before the expedition gets under way, a military surgeon (William Holden) is assigned to the outfit, much to the annoyance of Mr. Wayne, who seems to harbor a pathological dislike for members of the medical profession, and who in any case is a hard-bitten martinet with little sympathy to spare for the physically unfit.

Shortly after Mr. Wayne gets his show on the road, he decides, apparently, that an all-male cast isn't quite what Ulysses S. Grant and United Artists had in mind when they dispatched him, and he stops off at a plantation house where he picks up a young woman with an erratic Dixie accent (Constance Towers) and her Negro maid. (The tennis champion Althea Gibson makes her screen debut in this role. Miss Gibson should stick to her own racket.)

Mr. Wayne provides a certain amount of dubious justification for these additions to his entourage by blurting classified information into a stovepipe. There is a doubtlessly simple principle of acoustics involved here that I am not qualified to explain; it seems that Mr. Wayne's considerably amplified remarks on military strategy are easily overheard by the ladies, who have ingeniously converted a Franklin stove into a hi-fi receiver. In any event, this security leak is discovered by the despised Mr. Holden, who catches the ladies with their ears to the grate. Mr. Wayne, apprised of this development, decides that he has no alternative but to make his tour coeducational, since the eavesdroppers would pose a definite threat to its continued existence if left at large.

From this point on in, Mr. Wayne and his men are subjected to a good deal more harassment at the hands of Miss Towers and Mr. Holden than the combined manpower of the Confederacy (including the student body of a military academy for young boys) can provide. While there are enough skirmishes along the way to keep Mr. Holden in business, most of the action is concerned with his running squabble with Mr. Wayne, and with dragging Miss Towers all over the landscape. As the picture ends, Mr. Wayne (who in spite of these distractions has accomplished all he set out to do and more) shakes hands with Mr. Holden, who, he's decided, isn't such a bad egg after all—and stops snarling at Miss Towers long enough to tell her he loves her.

As you may have gathered from this synopsis, *The Horse Soldiers,* while it is no worse than a lot of movies and better than some, is not the sort of thing on which Mr. Ford —who a quarter of a century ago made *The Informer*—should be wasting his talents.

SINCE ANYTHING Nipponese, from art to Zen, seems to have a ready market among this country's rapidly proliferating Japanophiles, it's hardly surprising to find that the land that has given us such varied beneficences as Lady Murasaki, Dr. D. T. Suzuki, J. D. Salinger's late brother's unpublished poems, Washington's cherry trees, Sir Cedric Hardwicke, and our own metamorphosed elevated railways is now shipping over its obsolete campaign literature. The movie *Street of Shame* is a polemic of no particular artistic distinction in support of the shuttering of legalized brothels in Japan. Since the matter has been a *fait accompli* for some time now, the Japanese themselves presumably no longer have any use for the picture, and have generously passed it along for our edification. Among other things, the observant American moviegoer will discover that Japanese whores, despite their seeming fragility, enticed their clients by waylaying them in the street and clamping hammer locks on them; that the Japanese screen writer has not yet learned from the western dramatist that all prostitutes have hearts of gold; and that Machiko Kyo, one of the best film actresses in the world, looks pretty silly as a gum-chewing, pony-tailed, toreador-panted hoyden—which may, now that I think of it, be further evidence of her greatness. It's hard to visualize any of the Hollywood starlets she so closely resembles here playing the wife in *Rasho-Mon.*

SOME rather inspired work has gone into the first half of the new Danny Kaye film, *The Five Pennies* (released by Paramount), which purports to be—and, for all I know, is—a biography of jazz musician Red Nichols. If you like jazz, imaginative color photography, and Mr. Kaye's special brand of levity, I suggest you find a seat close to an exit, enjoy yourself for forty minutes or so, and then get the hell out of the theater before everything goes to pot. The cue for your departure will have come when you hear the patter of a child actress around the house. Mr. Kaye can be amusing indeed while breaking up a series of corny radio programs, belting out a number with Louis Armstrong, or discovering that his bride (Barbara Bel Geddes, who looks to me like a Bryn Mawr girl with amnesia) is with child. Once that little one arrives on the scene, however, the picture goes gee-whizzing into lachrymosity, and all hands are lost.

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BOOKS

Officers and Gentlemen

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN

EDUCATION AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP: A STUDY OF THE ROTC, by Gene M. Lyons and John W. Masland. *Princeton. $5.*

There is a British verb conjugated "I am Oxford, You are Cambridge, *He* is the London School of Economics." A similar refrain in American military education takes the plural form "We are West Point, You are Annapolis, *They* are Roticee." Unlike the British institutions, however, the American academies have produced few books about themselves and so far none about their utilitarian adjunct, which for nearly a century has represented an avowed military enclave in the heartland of American liberal education. Today some three hundred institutions, in which by far the great majority of male undergraduates in the country are enrolled, are participating in the various Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs. In almost two-thirds of them basic ROTC training is compulsory; these include all but two of the land-grant colleges and the majority of the state universities. It costs the government over $100 million per year and takes a slice out of college and university budgets as well. Although the former comes from taxes, the latter can be regarded as coming out of faculty salaries, for which reason it is not surprising that two Dartmouth scholars have been moved to take a look at this institution.

What is unusual is the point of view from which they have done so. Gene M. Lyons, who began his study of military leadership as an infantry sergeant in the Battle of the Bulge, and John W. Masland, who has taught at the National War College, have both a proper respect for the soldier's profession and an urgent appreciation of its importance. It is clear from their book that they would have been delighted to find the ROTC programs in top condition. It is not because they wanted to that they have found things to be a complete mess.

ROTC training was first provided in the Morrill Act of 1862, which established the land-grant colleges. Like many Union mobilization measures, it was slow getting started, but after ninety-seven years the system has now reached a point at which it could equip us magnificently to refight the Civil War. As the authors observe, "The conventional employment of mass armies no longer makes sense. The need is for stable, highly mobile forces-in-being trained for a variety of functions and operations and equipped with weapons of increasing fire power." And yet, without anyone quite facing up to it, ROTC programs have become the principal source of *regular* Army, Navy, and Air Force officers. In 1957, 22,388 officers entered the various services from ROTC as against 1,319 from the academies.

In an earlier age this surely would have produced a heroic conflict. The services, finding themselves dependent on the universities for the bulk of their officer corps, would have set out to impose on them the military ethic required to produce good officers. As this would destroy the essential nature of the universities, the latter would have insisted on civilian control of the programs, which would almost certainly impair the military qualities of the officer corps. A conflict has been avoided, in this case, by an unspoken compromise that provides not quite enough military training to produce officers and not quite enough education to produce much of anything.

This stalemate has been facilitated by a really outrageous case of in-service fighting which, after fifteen years of postwar struggle, has left the programs about where they were in 1946 when Forrestal got for the the Navy a small but high-quality program providing full tuition, pay, and allowances, while the Army was still training levies for trench warfare and the Air Force was glad to get its hands on a college graduate by no matter what means. In the meantime the corps go on marching while the uniforms grow more effulgent every year.

Lyons and Masland accept the fact that officers are an essential profession in short supply and that the armed forces must therefore be given the recruiting advantage of maintaining ROTC programs on the nation's campuses. They insist, however, that the objective of these programs must be confined to "motivation for service and pre-professional preparation for a career." The ROTC should have the same qualities as undergraduate preparation for the legal or medical professions, and the notion of on-campus military training should be abandoned forthwith. The more serious problem is career motivation. (Eight years after, only thirteen per cent of the first graduates of the Navy's postwar program were still in service.) ". . . Compulsory training is an intrusion on the educational process and . . . a negative factor in career motivation." Even worse are the "Mickey Mouse" lecture courses, as the students call them, which the services apparently still think are an attraction to undergraduates.

IT IS NO GOOD thinking the armed forces can straighten out the mess they have made. This would require a concern for the national as against the service interest, of which they are incapable in these matters. (After a century they have still not devised a means of paying the educational institutions for the cost of constructing and maintaining ROTC campus facilities.) The job must be done by the universities themselves. This is in fact an enormous opportunity to create a standing army essentially free of the Janissary mentality that has been exacting so high a price from the nation for the continued loyalty of the separate-but-equal services. Here as elsewhere, the plea is for policy, for a "clear, concise recognition by the Federal government of the changing nature of the programs and their essential national purpose." The ROTC programs are a major part of the Federal educational program and should be part of a Federal educational policy. Such a policy will not

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be handed down on tablets either from Capitol Hill or the top floor of the Health, Education and Welfare office building. The authors, properly, insist this is a responsibility of the Secretary of Defense. But they are unable to say how he is to be prevailed upon to meet that responsibility. Probably the only practical approach is the impractical one of looking to the universities, with all their diffuseness, to devise a policy and impose it. But if they expect, and indeed are willing, to allow someone else to do it for them, it is probably too late anyway. « »

A Very Exclusive Club

MALCOLM BRADBURY

THE HOLY BARBARIANS, by Lawrence Lipton. *Messner. $5.*

When I was a feckless young man in an English provincial city, trying to be a writer against striking odds, I learned that there existed in town a group of persons with literary ambitions who had discovered that it was possible to live without working. Their way of life followed directly from this premise. They spent their days in cafés, eating and talking about Nietzsche and then walking out without paying, and their nights on other people's couches. They considered that they were Supermen and had, without exception, the most interesting life histories of anyone in the world. By working hard at it, they made quite a case. Shiftless, dishonest, and completely untrustworthy, given to stealing (but only food and books), they constituted a kind of phony avant-garde, leading the life of a Villon but not writing a *Testament* because they claimed they were living it instead.

I used to call these persons the Sugar Beet Generation, because the only work that they ever did was on the sugar-beet harvest, in the summer; by working eighteen hours a day for a few weeks they made enough money to cover their expenses for a year. But expenses, really, were not things they had, because they lived off other people (whom they called "steamers" because when they came into port, you unloaded them, and they sailed out again). These parasites were writers who didn't write; they all had great books projected, a compound of phallicism and fascism—pornographic novels to be printed in Italy and smuggled into England in girls' bras. Though they talked about them all the time, they never had a moment to get anything down on paper; the only one who ever really did was Colin Wilson, who in *The Outsider* summed up much of the philosophy of these groups.

After a while, however, something happened in England called the espresso bar, places where you could buy Italian coffee served by a Chinese waitress and listen to Spanish music looking at a French mural,

while the English rain poured down outside. Within weeks they were taken up by the middle classes. With these places Bohemianism became easy; anybody could play. Bank clerks combed their hair down over their eyes and came into them to protest, just for the evening. The Sugar Beet Generation eyed these ten-minute Bohemians in disgust and saw that their *Weltanschauung* was gone. In protest against these fashionable protesters, they got jobs, they got married, they had children—things that none of them would have dreamed of doing before.

I LEARNED that America had its own Sugar Beet Generation when I read Chandler Brossard's *Who Walk in Darkness.* Of course America has long had the ski bum and the beach bum, the hobo and the intellectual vagabond (even the graduate teaching assistant), the stud-horse figure, like the hero of *Picnic,* who appears in town, excites a bacchanalia and then lights out again, and the traveler in search of identity, like Mio in *Winterset,* who cries that all he has to leave when he dies is a view of Mount Rainier from the Seattle jail. When I came to America I found that, in university circles at least, it was fashionable to be Beat; and on some campuses the Beats outnumbered the squares (or, as I prefer to call them, normal people), who used to slink about looking embarrassed about their normality. The Beatniks at Yale, a sizable group of guitar players and purveyors of other like forms of protest, were in the habit of meeting in the downstairs john of the Sterling Memorial Library, to plan strategy. Only on rare occasions did they emerge en masse from their warrens—when Gregory Corso, chewing on a bread roll, read his poetry, for instance. Then they all were there, in large quantities, dressed in dirtied-up clothes and old sailors' sweaters (purchased at great expense, and still full of old sailors' sweat), and formidably unwashed. It is, of course, only in America, where everyone has access to washrooms and soap and water, that appearing unwashed can be a form of protest—just as it is only in America that people can voluntarily choose poverty, as Mr. Lipton explains that the Beats do; the point being that in America if you want to be a failure you have to work much harder at it than if you want to be successful. In Europe the reverse is true.

The fact is that the Beat Generation is a component of a highly technologically advanced and rich society. Everywhere else they would not be noticed. While they protest against this kind of society, not at times unreasonably, they are also the products of it. They pose a fair question: How does one live in a society where intellectual things are often scorned and where the intellectual path is considered the path of nonadjustment? Once you have taken this dangerous road in America, there is no turning back—you are forever not one of the group. The answer is to form an opposing

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group; and the sad thing is that you have to adjust to that. The conformity of nonconformity is as American a phenomenon as its opposite. I have a theory to the effect that people exist when they're alone; but, as all my friends tell me, in America it will never go over.

IF YOU ARE INTERESTED in the Beat Generation, and as a social movement it is immensely important, Mr. Lipton's is by far the best account of it. It is written from the inside, and, since Lipton is a Beat himself, he is naturally concerned to make out a case for the Beats, who appear as a strict cabal. Not anyone can join it. It's no good, says Mr. Lipton, just being a juvenile delinquent (the Beat view on this seems to be, quite properly, if you are going to be delinquent, why be juvenile about it?) or a homosexual or a Communist. You may be just a hip square. There is more than one way to overthrow a government. Nor is it enough simply to be in protest against the success ethic of American society; you have to protest in exactly the right way, have the right taste in jazz, be influenced by the proper writers—Henry Miller, Wilhelm Reich, Dylan Thomas, and D. H. Lawrence,* among others. The theme is disaffiliation—they are anti-militarist, anti-business, anti-work, and pro-poverty. They are for sex, Zen, jazz, horse (heroin), and pot (marijuana). Like most cabals, they have a jargon (which, interestingly, is mainly concerned with terms for states of depression and euphoria, and of course the means of access to these all important states; like most good Americans, they place a premium on happiness) which you have to know in order to gain admission. There are periods of initiation, to see whether you're with it. You have, as one of the characters in Mr. Lipton's extremely frank ("Like I *love* sex . . .") case histories puts it, to be "subversive—basically." It is, he says, *we* against *they*. Poverty being protest, the Beats go in

*The American D. H. Lawrence, not the English. I have immense trouble explaining to Americans that his novels—*Lady Chatterley's Lover*, for instance—are not about How to Have Sex. They are about How to Have Class, and which class to have. The English have class the way the Americans have sex, and use it for precisely the same purpose—to find out their identities.

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for a thing called the New Conspicuous Inconsumption, which consists of not having anything—anything, that is, except a hi-fi *with all the wires showing,* bookcases made from planks and bricks, and a ten-thousand-dollar library packed into a fifty-five-dollar slum apartment. Poverty, says Mr. Lipton, is an art, and like all arts it has to be learned. In some of its phases the attitude is a complete opting out from the purposes of society (here the Beats differ from the so-called Angry Young Men, who think that if society is not right the best way is to try, individually, to do a little something about it) and in others it is frankly suicidal ("If you love life, despicable is thy name," it says on a wall in the washroom of a Beat place in Denver).

LIKE the English writers who didn't write, the Beats live on the fringes of literary and cultural society and claim all the privileges of the avant-garde writer. They are nonliterary expatriates, not to Rome or Paris but to a gas station on Route 66, where you can steal a car. As for the literary figures of the Beat movement, they seem to me to be writers who don't write who write. Their work is personal, inchoate, unliterary, and given to euphoria of the strangest kind. In poetry they have, as Mr. Lipton claims, done a great deal to revive the oral tradition. But it seems to me that the best writer they have produced is Henry Miller, who was around long before the generation. Miller was a true nihilist; given that society was that way, he was its proper opposite. His place was at the very bottom:

A genius looking for employment is one of the saddest sights in the world. He fits in nowhere, nobody wants him. He is maladapted, says the world. With that, the doors are rudely slammed in his face. But is there no place at all for him, then? Oh yes, there is room at the very bottom.

BUT MILLER'S was an individual protest, and he was at the bottom because he had to be; the Beats, on the other hand, are socially mobile, *downwards.* While the angry young men are looking for room at the top, the Beats are looking for it at the bottom. And they are looking en masse. They are, indeed, to use Clancy Segal's memorable phrase, Nihilism's Organization Men. For the problem here is what happens to protest when everyone does it. One of the worst things that can happen to a man is to have his ideas put into practice; and the Beats are putting into practice all that writers have been saying for the last 150 years. And it's disturbing. Hearing so many of one's complaints on the lips of a whole generation is not pleasing, always. One has to start protesting all over again. Whenever I meet members of the Beat Generation (and when you meet one, you always know), they always make me feel that I've compromised with my destiny; and I haven't, I haven't. My trouble is, I suppose, that I love my mother and father (unlike Mr. Lipton's cases, I never rejected my parents; they rejected me—and when I heard their case, I agreed with them), and haven't sufficient artistic integrity to write books about my friends. It's a block. However, at last, after reading Mr. Lipton's book, I can feel outside something; and what I feel outside is the Beat Generation.

Rice Krispies at Noon

GERALD WEALES

THE LITTLE DISTURBANCES OF MAN, by Grace Paley. *Doubleday. $3.50.*

THE POISON TREE AND OTHER STORIES, by Walter Clemons. *Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.*

New World Writing has just bowed itself out of existence. In the fifteenth and last volume, the editors, saying good-by and looking back over the seven-year-old venture, remark on the number of magazines and paperback book-periodicals that have sprung up in their wake. The situation they describe is a real one; but real, too, is the lament of writers—one hears the cries rising from that contemporary wailing wall, the cocktail party—that never have there been so few markets for serious fiction. What appears at first to be an aesthetic paradox turns out, on closer examination, to be an example in classical economics: although the market is expanding, supply is outrunning demand. Not for many years has the short story been so vital a genre in this country, have so many talented practitioners hung out their signs. This quickening of activity and the concomitant interest in the product can best be seen in the growing number of volumes of short stories that the publishers are issuing. More and more often—and this is remarkable—authors are making their hard-back debut not in autobiographical first novels about how they lost their innocence but in collections of short stories. Two such newcomers are Grace Paley and Walter Clemons.

ALTHOUGH there are several familiar kinds of contemporary American short story—e.g., the suburban tragicomedy, the eerie fantasy—the types so overlap that only the most general categories really serve to divide the writers into groups. The most obvious division is that between the urban-Jewish and the rural-Southern. Grace Paley belongs with the former. It might be amusing to notice the ways in which she resembles the other writers in her neighborhood—Bernard Malamud, say—but it is more profitable to recognize that her stories have a quality that is peculiarly their own. Two elements, one stylistic, and one that seems to grow out of her particularly wry way of looking at the world, define that quality.

First, the stylistic. My impulse is to speak of her versatility, for most of the stories are written in the first person, with a wide range in narrators: Rose Lieber, fifty-odd and about to crown a seventeen-year-old love affair with marriage; an intellectual bum of a young man with an eye out for a semi-permanent deal without the binding of marriage; a tenement-dwelling mother of four whose husband has walked out to join some army or order. Various

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as the narrators are, the voices in which they speak are not all that different. Although Miss Paley makes them palpable individuals—never, for instance, allowing Rose Lieber to think as though she were Josephine, the nymphet of "A Woman, Young and Old"—she does not, like Joyce Cary, create an individual style for each character, one that defines the person who uses it. All of Miss Paley's speakers, like the author herself in the few third-person stories, are sharp-eyed observers who decorate simple sentences with unlikely metaphor and use rhetoric to flesh out bromides into sophisticated shreds of folk wisdom.

Miss Paley's writing is the prose equivalent of the shrug and the smile. The shrugging, smiling line is the right one for the little disturbances of man. The bulk of the stories have to do with love lost or love gained, with marriages formed or broken, with sex at all ages. Although there are dreamers in some of the stories, there is no romanticism. Miss Paley knows that it is possible that the heart should break, but that it is necessary, the heart having broken, for the body to sit down to a cup of coffee. The comic view is a consistent one in the stories, never slipping into the pathos that the situations occasionally suggest; when the comedy does move away from the garrulously amused, it goes the other way, into the rawest, noisiest kind of dirty slapstick. Miss Paley's stories add up to one of the funniest collections I have seen, without ever losing contact with those disturbances in life which, when they are ours, never seem to be all that little.

I HAVE HAD a secret, unadvertised passion for Grace Paley's work since someone put me onto her first story, in *Accent* three years ago, but Walter Clemons is completely new to me. The author has familial connections with the rural-Southern writers I mentioned above. He is, though, Southwestern really and most of the stories are set in and around Houston (which is urban enough in its way). Still, the category involves a state of mind more than it does a setting, and Clemons has more in common with Flannery O'Connor than he does with Philip Roth. Actually, there are four different kinds of story in *The Poison Tree*. First, and best I think, are the stories about children, particularly "Nana Shellbean," in which the author catches the intonation of his fictional kids and plays their comic speech against their large fears, as Carson McCullers has done before him. Second, there are stories, like the title one or "The Common Night" a long account of the death of a matriarch, in which the pull of affection, resentment, even hate is examined minutely within the context of the family. Third, there are accounts of men among men, like "Boyd Margo," in which the reader can see the reflection of Clemons's season as a seaman on the Gulf of Mexico. Last, and least effective so far as I am concerned, is the romantic melodrama of evil blood and passion, "The Dark Roots of the Rose." One defect that is likely to attach itself to any of the four kinds of stories is Clemons's tendency to give in to an urge to explain. For example, after having spent a long story showing Boyd Margo in contrast to his fellow seamen, Clemons chooses not to end his story dramatically but to let it peter away in three pages of case-history background on how the hero got that way. Although there are several good stories in *The Poison Tree*, I cannot become enthusiastic about it, as I can about Miss Paley's book; Clemons tries a number of things that are more complicated than those she attempts, but he does not succeed as often.

The Uses of Frustration

BRUNO FOA

THE STRATEGY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, by Albert O. Hirschman. *Yale Press. $4.50.*

Economic development is the one symbol fashioned by the western world that combines sense with sex appeal. It is intellectually satisfying, since it breaks down hitherto vague concepts of progress and welfare into measurable quantities of national product, personal income, and consumption per head. It holds out the hope that the necessary and conscious pursuit of broad economic goals by the people of what are tactfully described as "the developing countries" may lead not only to better living conditions but also to more rather than less individual freedom at all levels.

With development projects in progress or at the planning stage all over the world, there is of course a parallel growth in the literature of "development economics"; and since facts usually have a way of running well ahead of their rationalization, it is not surprising to discover, according to the expert testimony of Professor Hirschman, that "Development economics has still a somewhat undeveloped look." This does not apply, however, to Hirschman's own recent volume, nor, it should be added, to similar contributions by a number of other professional economists (Leibenstein, Myrdal, Nurkse, and Rosenstein-Rodan, to mention only a few) who have likewise broken significant new ground.

Economic development is never a picnic. The more rapid and striking the growth, the greater the pains, as we all know from the history of the Industrial Revolution in Britain and the contemporary experiences of Russia and China.

A "humane" and democratic type of world development, such as the one that is postulated by modern western standards, is no easy thing to accomplish, since it entails, in addition to direct productive efforts, very high overhead economic and social costs for the provision of basic services.

Consequently the question arises in every developing country as to how much investment and expenditure (including foreign loans and assistance, when available) should go into the provision of power, water supply, communications, irrigation, health and education, etc. ("social overhead capital" in economic lingo), and how much into directly produc-

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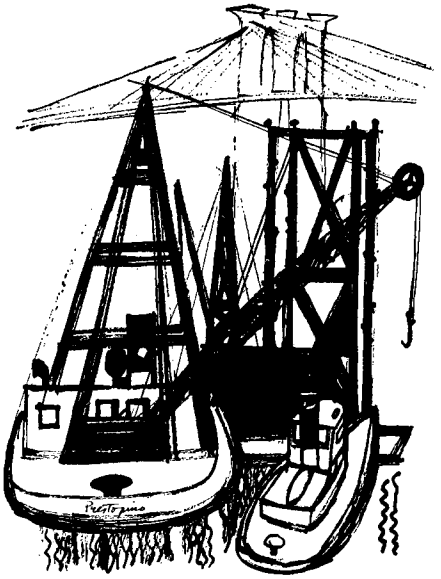
tive activities, such as new industries. The economic implications of the choice are especially important with respect to power and other basic "infrastructures"—which incidentally happen to be the types of projects on which the World Bank is concentrating a goodly portion of its lending. The problem is considered at great length by Hirschman. He points out that the two approaches need not be exclusive but that just the same there is within any specific context an alternative between development induced through an "excess capacity" or through "shortages" of basic services and infrastructures. Hirschman is inclined to recommend the somewhat ascetic "shortage route," and perhaps this preference can be viewed as a healthy corrective against excesses in the other direction. He recognizes, however, that there is always a point where production can be increased only if power and other basic services are appropriately expanded.

As for the fundamentals of economic development, Hirschman's contribution consists of two related propositions. The first is that it is bound to entail a chain of imbalances, pressures, and tensions. A majority of economists advocate the view that sound economic development should proceed along "balanced" lines, involving the almost simultaneous establishment of a variety of industries and activities, each of which would buy from and sell to the others and, through their interactions, would bring about a situation in which the supply of new products and services creates its own demand. Hirschman dissents from this approach on logical and practical grounds. He strongly holds that the development process feeds upon the very imbalances that the generally accepted view would like to prevent—provided these are channeled in the right direction—and that if the economy is to be kept moving ahead, the task of development policy is to keep alive and maintain tensions and disproportions, with their attendant profits and losses for new ventures. Furthermore, he feels that "balanced growth" would require an abundance of people capable of making and carrying out managerial decisions. In Hirschman's opinion these people are few, and their scarcity—rather than lack of capital or of natural resources—is the main bottleneck for development.

The second proposition relates more narrowly to the industrialization process. Every industry, once established, sends out stimuli toward the creation of other industries that will either utilize its products or supply it with materials needed in production. These industry-creating effects are called "forward and backward linkages," and Hirschman analyzes in detail how these potential chain reactions can be fully exploited.

The practical implications of Hirschman's approach are manifold. In contrast with the strict "lender's" viewpoint that colors a majority of American expert opinion, they



reflect a sympathetic understanding of certain problems and attitudes of the developing countries.

For instance, Hirschman suggests that the inflationary pressures that torment most developing countries may not be due so much to their attempt "to do too many things at the same time" as to what he calls a "price-price spiral," stemming from the fact that price rises are inefficient in inducing additional output but all too efficient in communicating themselves to the other sectors of the economy. This leads to the corollary that public authorities should give high priority to action calculated to improve "basic supply elasticities," and has a further bearing on the allocation of resources between "overhead services" and direct productive activity. Hirschman advocates the highly unorthodox view that governments should not hesitate to engage in industrial activities rather than indulge in highly inflationary spending or unproductive public works. He adds that "By throwing the weight of its influence against governmental activities in manufacturing, United States policy would not only be pursuing a course whose political wisdom is highly questionable; it would also support governments in a course that is apt to be both unimaginative and inflationary." It might be mentioned, however, that since those lines were written, the Development Loan Fund of the United States government has in fact engaged in the financing of great numbers of medium- and small-sized industrial projects throughout the world.

Hirschman also registers his dissent from the opinion that industrialization in the underdeveloped countries had better follow a gradual pattern, changing from handicrafts to the manufacture of light goods and eventually, by easy stages, to industrial and heavy goods. On the contrary, it makes sense to give a green light to the erection of that big steel mill which most countries want as an eagerly sought symbol of industrial respectability, while keeping alive at the other end of the spectrum handicraft and cottage industries. There is much to be said for the rationality of a prolonged coexistence of modern industries and of pre-industrial and even neolithic techniques. Both the airplane and the mule can fulfill vital functions in a developing economy.

In my opinion, Hirschman makes an important contribution to our understanding of economic development by stressing that while a balanced state of affairs can be reached at its terminal point, you cannot have balance while development is actually in progress. In other words, you cannot have dynamic change consistent with the assumptions of a static or uniformly accelerated economy. However, Hirschman may have overstated a bit the difference in policy implications between his own and the more conventional approach.

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His acceptance of a modicum of imbalance and perhaps schizophrenia in economic development can be compared to the recognition, which is commonplace in our day, of the value to the personality and to society of certain types of neuroses. It suggests—and this is very significant—that some of the urges and even prejudices which are ingrained in the attitudes of the developing countries are grounded on reason no less than emotions. There is no suggestion, however, that Kubitschek, Nehru, or Nkrumah join the Beat Generation. Freudian morality can be just as stern as the conventional one, and Hirschman's own policy inclinations are far from being "soft." If he advocates the establishment of modern industries with up-to-date technology, in line with the desires and practices of many developing countries, it is because he considers modern machines as powerful, if somewhat coercive, teaching aids. Airplanes, so says our author, *must* be maintained—or else; with highways there is no similar compulsion, and this difference explains perhaps why many Latin-American countries perform so much better in running airlines than in keeping their roads in passable condition.

ALL THOSE who come to grips with problems of international development, whether at the intellectual or the practical level, have to overcome at some stage a sense of impatience and frustration. In his concluding pages, Hirschman refers to the "ineffectiveness which is so often the expert's lot, and is also frequently the earmark of official economic policies," pointing out that this may be due to the natural bent of economic advisers to determine priorities from the outside, instead of discovering under what pressures people are operating, and in which way "progress can at times meander through many peripheral areas before it is able to dislodge backwardness from the central positions where it may be strongly entrenched." A clear understanding of the development process leads to the conclusion that "The pressures and tensions it creates do not necessarily frustrate it, but can be made to help it along." To this the present reviewer can only say amen.

About the censorship of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*...

A STATEMENT FROM THE PUBLISHER

THE DECISION OF THE POST OFFICE denying the facilities of the mails to the Grove Press edition of LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER comes as a shock to everyone concerned with the elementary freedoms in our country. We are faced here with Government censorship in its most powerful, most obnoxious form. In effect, a department established to carry the mails has set itself up as a censor and has arrogated to itself the function of telling the public what it may and may not read. The Post Office has chosen to announce this assumption of power in the case of a book which the leading critics and writers of our day have pronounced a major classic of 20th century literature and a work of unassailable moral stature. The literary experts of the Post Office have decided to disregard the opinion of the overwhelming body of literary scholarship to hold up in its place its own vision of what it regards to be "smut." The Post Office is telling us that even though critics, scholars and book reviewers will be able to appreciate the book's great literary and moral value, the rest of us will lack the discernment to come to the same conclusion.

The Post Office ban, in addition to defying literary and scholarly opinion, also flies in the face of public protests by leading newspapers in the country which, in their editorials, have taken the Post Office to task for this insult to the public's intelligence. Now that the Post Office has placed its official stamp of approval on the ban, fundamental issues of freedom under the Constitution have been raised. These issues are of vital concern to all citizens who refuse to have their reading and thinking controlled for them by Post Office censors.

The Supreme Court has held that all works of literary, social and philosophical significance are protected from Government interference under the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. That LADY CHATTERLEY'S LOVER is such a work has become a fact of literary history which even the Post Office has been unable to contest. There can be little doubt that the Post Office action will be held illegal by the Courts, and Grove Press through its counsels is taking immediate steps to obtain a reversal of the Post Office decision.

BARNEY ROSSET, *Grove Press*

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It's Big on Bleecker Street

HENRY POPKIN

THE OFF-BROADWAY THEATRE: SEVEN PLAYS, edited by Richard Cordell and Lowell Matson. *Random House. $5.*

The shoestring producers and fledgling actors of Greenwich Village and the Lower and Upper East Side have been performing for many decades; but only since 1952, when Brooks Atkinson of the *Times* went downtown to review *Summer and Smoke* at the Circle in the Square, have they had the feeling that they are being watched. Since then, their work, which was almost always lively and interesting, has more often approached professional competence and sometimes even solvency. In the past few years, they have revived O'Neill, saved Molière from the antiquarians, and provided New York's only productions of Shakespeare, Chekhov, and Shaw.

It is good news that the Off Broadway theater is now important enough to have its repertoire anthologized, but in this case the plays do not constitute a particularly rich dramatic feast, and all of them are available elsewhere. Obviously, the anthologists could not have given their space to Off Broadway's very best dramatists, who are all in the public domain, but what a book of this sort needs is at least one unique feature, some hard-to-get or unpublished play like Gorki's *The Courageous One* or the Marc Blitzstein translation of *The Threepenny Opera*. But if the collection does not assemble the best of Off Broadway, it still has a fairly representative cross section of the newer plays, and a glance at it will tell us what Off Broadway is up to.

In a way, James Forsyth's *Héloïse* and Jean Anouilh's *Ardèle* are the most typical plays represented because, like the classical plays that Off Broadway revives, they are set in earlier times—respectively, the Middle Ages and 1912. Off Broadway likes to put on fancy dress and to speak with an old-fashioned elegance, perhaps because Broadway seldom does. Right now, four-fifths of the Off Broadway plays are costume dramas. Broadway is in perfect balance: only one-fifth of its current offerings are costume dramas.

The reasons why Off Broadway prefers the past are clear enough. Old plays are inexpensively available. Also, the recent college training of many Off Broadway people has induced some respect for the classics and some interest in period settings and stylized acting. Plays set in an earlier period do justify a kind of acting that is particularly well suited to the small, often shabby theaters of Off Broadway. In such places, the surroundings are unlikely to have any distracting charm and the audience (no more than 299 souls, except at the Phoenix) is right on top of the actor, who finds himself making larger gestures and speaking more formally to emphasize his "aesthetic distance" from the spectator a few feet away. Also, this sort of acting permits Off Broadway to fulfill one of its great purposes—to do exactly what is not being done on Broadway. The heroes of Broadway are mumbling Method actors who seem to have potatoes in their mouths.

The Forsyth and Anouilh dramas are interesting, moderately successful examples of their kind. *Ardèle* satirizes love and jealousy, wittily but less savagely than Anouilh's *Waltz of the Toreadors*. *Héloïse* is a respectful treatment of the great lovers of the twelfth century, who seem a little awed by the unvarying eloquence of their speech. On the other hand, James Lee's *Career* and Alfred Hayes's *The Girl on the Via Flaminia* are naturalistic, strictly contemporary plays. The latter, in which an American soldier has a romance with an Italian prostitute, was possibly too sordid for Broadway, where sex themes require either more erotic or more sentimental treatment. When this rather strained little drama was finally promoted to Broadway, it flopped.

NO ORIGINAL PLAY has been a greater hit Off Broadway than *Career*. It is a good, tightly written play, but it lacks the extra dash that might have made it go on Broadway. No doubt its subject matter helped to keep it downtown: it is an insiders' play about show business. Off Broadway sometimes goes in for freak plays about the theater; I remember, not so long ago, one about the trials of the Negro actor and another about seedy failures in Hollywood. Show business is a natural enough subject for aspiring actors, and such plays are well suited to theaters that look more like rehearsal halls.

Dragon's Mouth, by J. B. Priestley and Jacquetta Hawkes, and *Ulysses in Nighttown*, adapted by Marjorie Barkentin from Joyce's *Ulysses*, are experimental. A few years ago, an

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experienced director observed that Off Broadway "is not avant garde—Broadway and the college theater are both more experimental"; but that was before Ionesco and Beckett arrived to balance the experiments more evenly between the two branches of the New York theater. The bolder, more disquieting experiments, by Ionesco, Beckett, and Brecht, are likely to be performed Off Broadway. Tamer avant-garde plays, like the current ones by Tennessee Williams and Archibald MacLeish, can find their way to Times Square. But *Dragon's Mouth* is tame enough; in this fitfully witty "platform style" play, four sophisticates overwhelm one another with generalizations about Man and Woman. On being compared with Shaw, the authors wisely conceded "that they did not aspire to write like" him. *Ulysses in Nighttown* belongs to Expressionistic drama, one of the more ancient regiments of the avant garde. It is not a complete work in itself, but it is fascinating to anyone who knows *Ulysses*. On the stage, it had the special benefit of a great performance by Zero Mostel; even on the printed page, it has its good moments. It is just this sort of thing that only Off Broadway could bring us, and for which we should be grateful.

LIKE MANY good causes, Off Broadway is a risky business. Harold Clurman has observed that "Off Broadway productions, even good ones, can rarely make enough profit to sustain themselves." That puts it mildly. Some of the more committed Off Broadway producers have protected themselves by buying or leasing their theaters, so that they can quickly replace a failure with a potential success. *Our Town* is now balancing the budget for the Circle in the Square, and *Once Upon a Mattress* might do the same for the Phoenix.

In some respects, the Off Broadway theater is an amateur enterprise—backed by amateur investors, managed by amateur producers, and performed by some actors who have recently been amateurs and others who still are. Yet often enough, courage, imagination, and professional playwriting can make it as exciting as anything on Times Square.

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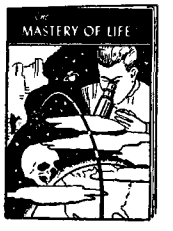

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BOOK NOTES

IT HAS HAPPENED HERE, by Virgil T. Blossom. *Harper. $2.95.*

Here is a chronicle of events that led up to and followed the scandal of Little Rock, written by its embattled former superintendent of schools. It is an account—with some new material—of early local litigation, of the campaign to prepare the citizens for integration, of the political maneuvering within state government, and, more important, of the gathering opposition that began with grudging acceptance of Mr. Blossom's minimum-compliance scheme and ended with his dismissal, the resignation of the school board, and the closing of Little Rock's high schools. Mr. Blossom, who found himself with the responsibility for the orderly transfer of nine Negro students to Central High School without having any real power to enforce that transfer, spent a great deal of time attempting to figure out just what those who did have power—and troops—were going to do. What could he expect from Governor Faubus? From the Justice Department? From the local police? Under what orders were the National Guardsmen operating who had surrounded Central High? His ordeal even included such harrowing duties as supervision of forty-three separate bomb searches of Central High, searches which took place at night and which involved, among other things, working open combination locks on some 2,000 student lockers, removing the base panels with screw drivers, inspecting the lockers, and replacing the parts. Although Mr. Blossom believed that the desegregation decision was premature, throughout the book he insists he was motivated by a desire to respect the law of the land. But he tends to interpret the events in Little Rock as an administrative crisis; and the reader who, like Mr. Blossom, prides himself on his own moderation and good sense in such matters as these comes to suspect the seductive but unsatisfying assumptions—indeed, the very lingo—of such "moderation." Mr. Blossom habitually refers to "the people of Little Rock," just as our national politicians refer to "the people of the South," meaning simply the white people. He is fond of condemning "extremists on both sides," an epithet in which he includes the N.A.A.C.P. along with the White Citizens Councils. He gives the impression that those who were opposed to the law and yet went along with it were somehow morally superior to those who supported it as a matter of principle; and he seems to feel that a course of action which is repugnant to both sides in a dispute is, by definition, just. Mr. Blossom was not so much a hero of Little Rock as he was a conscientious and well-intentioned victim.

MAYA: THE RIDDLE AND REDISCOVERY OF A LOST CIVILIZATION, by Charles Gallenkamp. *David McKay. $5.50.*

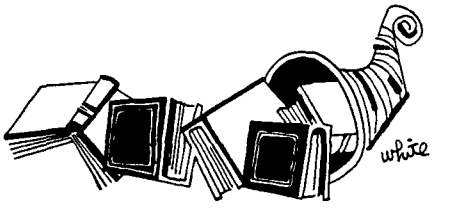
Despite the limitations of a basically neolithic technology, the Mayan Indians of Middle America created a civilization that was in many ways superior to any in the world of its time. By the end of its Classic period, in the tenth century, the Mayan empire—a network of loosely connected city-states—extended over an area of more than a hundred thousand square miles: an area in which no wheel had ever turned, no beasts of burden had been tamed, and no useful metallurgy was developed, but where the arts and abstract sciences were advanced to an astonishing degree. Suddenly, for no clearly discernible reason, what may have been a deliberately induced decline in Mayan fortunes began. Monuments were destroyed, cities abandoned, intellectual progress halted. By the time the Spaniards landed in the Yucatán in 1517, Mayan culture had been on the wane for six centuries. Mr. Gallenkamp's book is both an engrossing reconstruction of the baffling history of the Maya and a splendid account of the archaeological efforts of the past century to make such a reconstruction possible. He scrupulously avoids irresponsible conjecture where he is confronted with gaps in the far from complete record, and he refuses to clutter an already obscure picture with the lurid romanticism so dear to the hearts of most writers on "lost civilizations." If Mr. Gallenkamp has a fault, it's a tendency toward hackneyed, overly ornate writing that at times becomes almost as florid as the temple façades at Chichén Itzá. *Maya* has good photographs and drawings, and a helpful map.

NEW YORK: PLACES AND PLEASURES, by Kate Simon. *Meridian. $1.95.*

A most energetically entertaining guide, written by a lady thoroughly acquainted with both the charms and the exasperations that constitute New York. Miss Simon is a talented and imaginative writer with a flair for vivid description, who undertakes to list systematically but casually what hitherto has been familiar only to those who are already walkers in the city: the fascinating rambles, the profusion of shops catering to every eccentric whim, the less-frequented museums, the superb cheap restaurants normally by-passed by the tourists and the fashionable. This is a book that will induce mild spasms in those who feel the lines at the Shanghai to be too long already, who may not want to share the belly dancer at the Port Said, and who relish the pure solitude still to be found in the handsome Audubon Terrace. Still, it's fun to have one's real pleasures confirmed by Miss Simon; and her inventory outlines marvelous walking tours through kaleidoscopically changing neighborhoods, throws in a brisk and breezy history of the city, gives the timetable for the Italian street fairs, and has the wit to point to the oases—where to go and what to do when the city impinges unduly.

SENATOR JOE MCCARTHY, by Richard Rovere. *Harcourt, Brace. $3.95.*

One of the few Washington reporters who is a social analyst and critic as well as a working journalist, Richard Rovere produces a steady flow of balanced judgments on current events. This book finds him near the top of his form. Rovere sees the senator as our first "national demagogue." "He held two Presidents . . . nearly captive . . . He had enormous impact on American foreign policy . . . In the Senate . . . he assumed the functions of the Committee of the Whole." Isolationism, Populism, the cold war, and the resentment of the half-baked contributed to his strength. But the essence of McCarthyism was "a headlong retreat from reality; it elevated the ridiculous and ridiculed the important." The senator's special genius for that brand of politics derived from a rare case of true hypocrisy. "To McCarthy everything was profane"; "he never really took himself seriously." Lacking faith "in the sacredness of his own mission," he withered at the first touch of adversity. "Had he been a different sort, his daily prodigies need not have ended in 1954." Still, there was more than a personal flaw in the collapse. In the face of his powerful challenge, "no institutions of any value . . . either disintegrated or fell apart." Large sections of the press and of the religious and educational communities were consistently hostile, and the Supreme Court, Mr. Rovere believes, emerged from the test stronger than ever. Democratic society, in short, outstayed McCarthy. "He gave the tree one hell of a shake. It did not fall and he did . . ."



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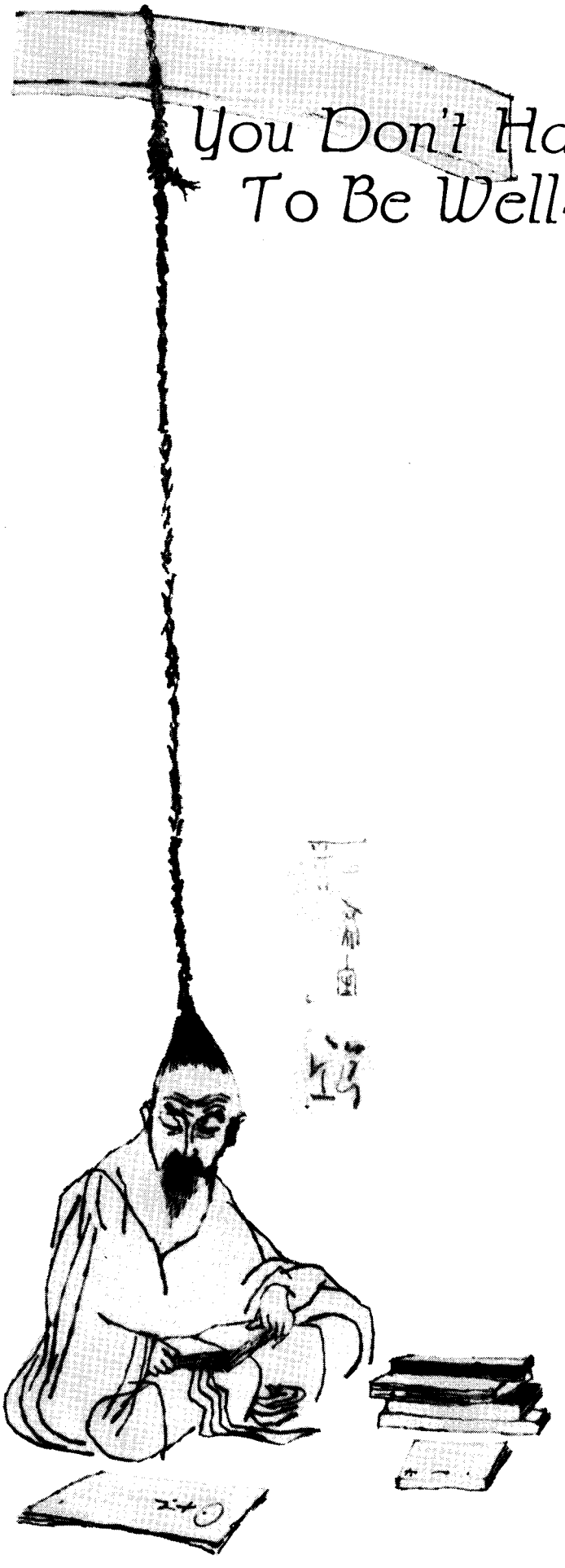

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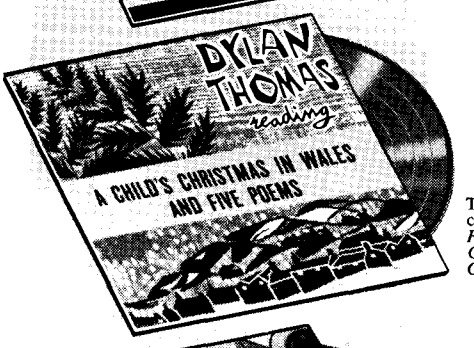

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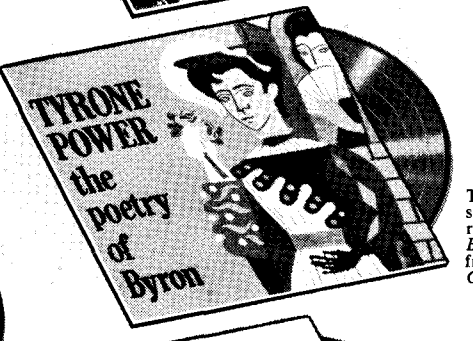

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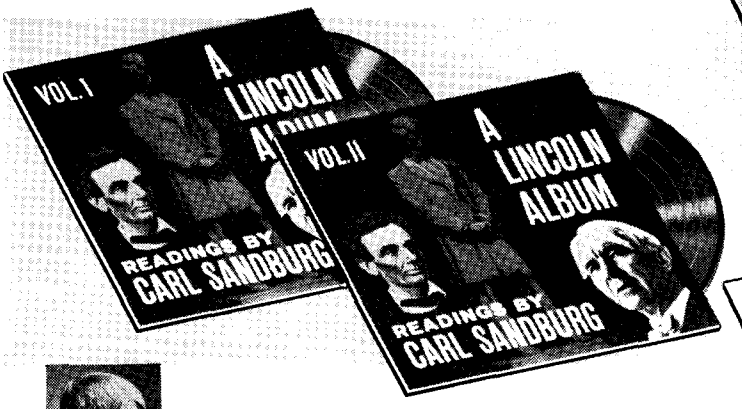

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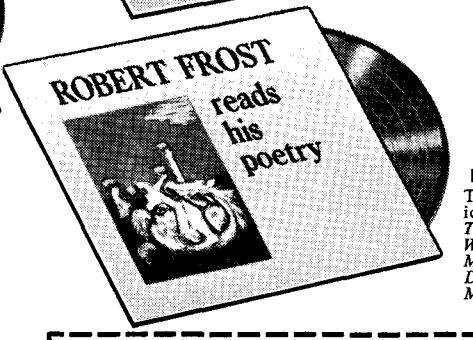

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